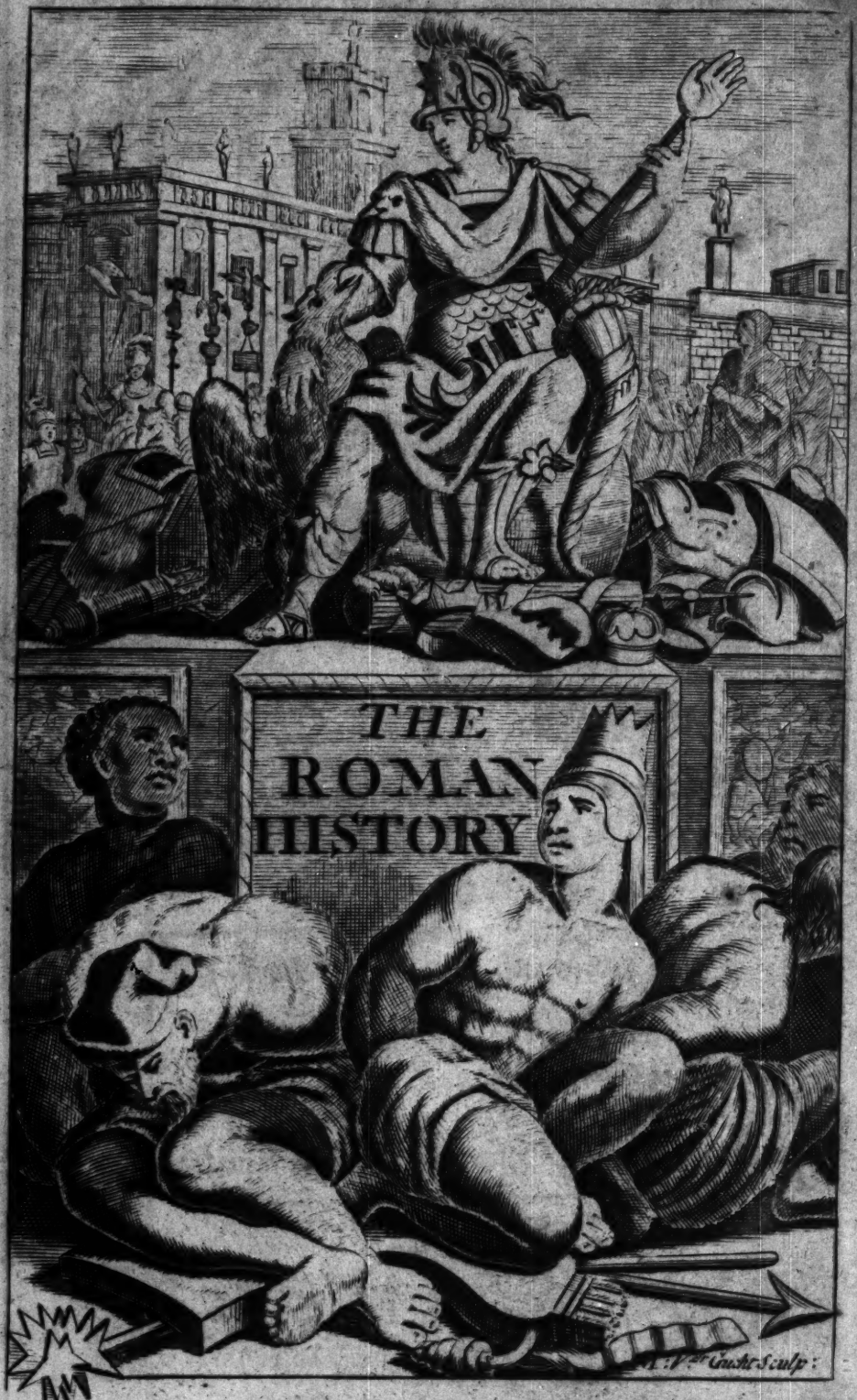
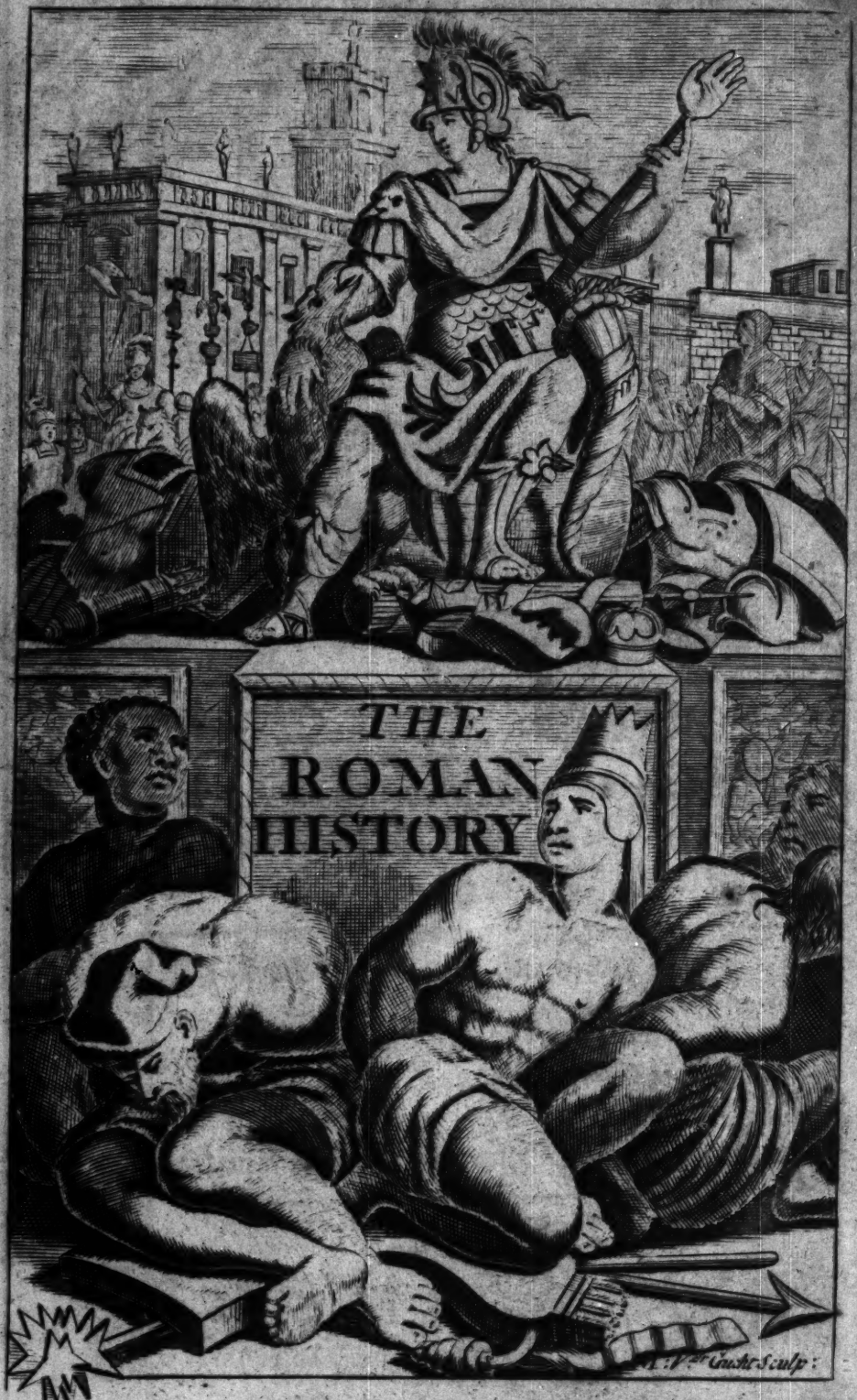

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY


THE
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HISTORY

# THE ROMAN HISTORY,

From the Total Failure of the

# WESTERN EMPIRE

IN

# *AUGUSTULUS,*

To the Reſtitution of the ſame by

# *CHARLES* the Great.

*Containing the Space of 324 Years.*

## VOL. IV.

By the Author of the Third.

The FIFTH EDITION.

Revis'd by *LAURENCE ECHARD*, A. M.
Being a further Continuation of his Hiſtory.

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W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# THE PREFACE.

THE *only Reaſon I can give the* Reader *for Publiſhing this Volume, is his favourable Reception of the former, which made me think a farther Continuation of the* Roman *Hiſtory would not be unacceptable. I have endeavour'd to continue it down to the Erection of a new Empire in the Weſt, in the ſame Method which has been obſerv'd in the preceding Parts. The Uſefulneſs of Hiſtory will beſt appear from the Encouragement it generally meets with in the World; and certainly none can be of greater Uſe, than that of Nations, which ſets the* Reader, *as it were, upon a commodious Eminence, from whence he has a full Survey of Parts remote, and a Proſpect beautify'd with the Variety of Men, Cities, Mountains, Valleys, Woods and Deſarts; and finds, that tho' things vary as to Names and Forms, they continue the ſame in their Nature and Subſtance; that Men were no better in former Times than they are in this Age, and indeed they could not well be worſe; that Faction, Pride, Jealouſie and Ambition were State Vices as much in Faſhion then as now; that the beſt Princes were*

*envy'd by ſome, and the worſt flatter'd by others; of all which he will meet with ſeveral Inſtances in the following Sheets, which, I hope, are preſented to him, with as much Perſpicuity as the Subject and Materials would admit of. The Affairs of the Church became, by degrees, ſo inſeparably interwoven with thoſe of the State, that I found it impoſſible to give a juſt Account of one, without treating, in ſome meaſure, of the other. I fear, upon the whole, it will appear to be too void of thoſe Excellencies, which are ſo indiſpenſibly requiſite to a Compleat Hiſtory; and the beſt that I can pretend to ſay of it is, That it was well deſign'd. If, upon Peruſal, it appears imperfect, I hope, at leaſt, it will provoke ſome able Pen to make the Publick a more valuable Preſent.*

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# THE Roman Hiſtory.

## VOL. IV.

*From the Total Failure of the Weſtern Empire in* Auguſtulus, *to the Reſtitution of the ſame by* Charles *the Great.*

*Containing the Space of* 324 *Years.*

## CHAP. I.

*From the Taking of* Rome *by* Odoacer, *to the Reign of* Juſtinian *the Great.*

*Containing the Space of* 50 *Years.*

I. AS the Laſt Volume began with the Removal of the Imperial Seat from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, or *Conſtantinople*; ſo is this to commence with a Tranſlation of the Empire it ſelf thither, at leaſt ſo much of it as the Length of Time and Fury of the Barbarians had left; which conſiſted more in Form than Subſtance, A. D. 476.

and was in reality no other than a Branch of that great ſtupendious Body, which for ſo many Ages over-ſhadow'd the reſt of the World. *Italy*, the Place of its Nativity, was ſubject to the *Heruli*; *Gaul* was ſeiz'd by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; *Spain* by the *Goths*; *Britain* was poſſeſs'd by the *Saxons*, *Scots* and *Picts*; *Africk* was ſubjected to the *Vandals*; and *Pannonia* to ſuch Nations, whom Neceſſity had driven from home, and who pleaded no other Title to it than what was owing to the Force of Arms: however, it claim'd a Right of Succeſſion, and, like ſome Heirs of decay'd Families, aſſum'd the Honour, tho' the Eſtate was forfeited. The ſame Marks of Sovereignty were preſerv'd in *Conſtantinople* that had been at firſt eſtabliſh'd in *Rome*; the ſame Ceremonies, Titles and Honorary Employments. And tho' the Empire was fallen much ſhort of what it formerly had been, yet it ſtill poſſeſs'd a fair Inheritance; for, excepting what it loſt in the Weſt, which indeed was the moſt valuable and ſubſtantial Part, the Dominions were the ſame in Extent with what it claim'd in its fulleſt Luſtre. The Tranſactions that make up the Body of the ſucceeding Part of this Hiſtory are confin'd to a narrower Sphere, yet we ſhall find the ſame Viciſſitude of Human Affairs, Men acting upon the ſame Principles; ſome guided by the ſober Dictates of Reaſon, others tranſported by the Extravagance of ſome prevailing Paſſion, and all ſubſervient in their ſeveral Stations to the Will and Pleaſure of the firſt Almighty Mover, who has the ſame indiſputed Power over Communities, as over private Families and particular Perſons.

About the ſame time that the Majeſty of the Weſtern Empire expir'd in the Perſon of *Auguſtulus*, that of the Eaſt was inſulted by *Baſiliſcus*; who, as before has been obſerv'd, taking an Advantage of the publick Diſtractions, rais'd a Party againſt

againſt *Zeno*, the lawful Prince, and forced him to fly for his Safety into *Iſauria*; after which he caus'd himſelf to be declar'd Emperor, and created his Son *Marcus, Cæſar*. He no ſooner thought himſelf eſtabliſh'd in his Uſurpation, before he apply'd his Power to the Re-eſtabliſhment of Hereticks, recalling thoſe Biſhops who had been formerly baniſh'd for their Impieties, and by his Edicts condemning the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, proceeding with great Cruelty againſt thoſe who had the Courage to oppoſe him. And as theſe his Practices render'd him odious to the Orthodox Chriſtians, ſo did his Pride and Avarice expoſe him to the Hatred and Contempt of the Pretorian Soldiers, who had promis'd themſelves great Advantages from the late Revolution, but being defeated in their Hopes, became ſoon weary of the Change; ſo that, according to the Inſolence of moſt Soldiers who are employ'd in the Service of an unlawful Power, they readily liſten'd to ſuch Overtures as *Zeno*'s Agents thought fit to make 'em, and were perſwaded to deſtroy him who had no Title to the Authority he enjoy'd, but what he deriv'd from them. Some write, that about this time there happen'd a great Earthquake at *Conſtantinople*, in which a conſiderable Part of the City was conſum'd, eſpecially the Library, containing no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand Volumes of all ſorts, among which were the Works of *Homer* written in Gold Characters, and cover'd with a Dragon's Skin of a prodigious Length; and that the People attributing theſe publick Calamities to the Uſurpation of *Baſiliſcus*, were more inclinable to reſtore *Zeno*: But the firſt Account is founded upon better Authority, and more agreeable to Reaſon. *Baſiliſcus* was not ſo ſupine and negligent, but he foreſaw the Storm they were raiſing againſt him, and prepar'd himſelf in the beſt manner he could to encounter it. To the

Forces he had already on foot, whoſe Fidelity he had great reaſon to ſuſpect, he added ſuch new Levies as the Exigency of his Affairs would permit; and having muſter'd his Army, committed it to the Conduct of *Harmatius*, or *Armatus*, his near Kinſman; who however, being ſeduc'd by ſome Preſents ſent him by *Zeno*, and allur'd by the Promiſe he had given him of creating his Son *Cæſar* upon his Reſtoration, concurr'd with the Chief of the Malecontents, and deliver'd up all his Forces to *Zeno*. *Baſilicus* being thus betray'd by his own Soldiers, fled once more for Refuge into the Great Church, depoſiting the Imperial Crown upon the Altar. From thence he was forc'd by *Acaius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and being deliver'd into the Hands of *Zeno*, was by him baniſh'd, together with his Wife and Children into *Cappadocia*, where they all periſh'd in a ſhort time by Hunger and Cold. Thus ended the Uſurpation of *Baſilicus*, who, after he had tyranniz'd for the ſpace of eighteen or twenty Months, receiv'd the juſt Reward of his Treaſon and Impiety, and *Zeno* was again ſaluted Emperor; the People being now as zealous in his Reſtauration, as they had been before violent in his Expulſion. At firſt he appear'd very ſenſible of the great Services *Armatus* had done him; he advanc'd him to the moſt profitable Employments of the Court, fed him at his own Table, and according to his Promiſe, created his Son *Cæſar*; but whether he thought he had great reaſon to ſuſpect him for his Treachery and Ingratitude to *Baſilicus*, or found him aiming at ſome new Commotions to the prejudice of his Authority, he ſhortly after put him to Death, depos'd his Son, and made him be ordain'd Prieſt, who ſome time after was choſen Biſhop of *Cyzicus*. This Proceeding of *Zeno* againſt *Armatus* was very grateful to the People of *Conſtantinople*, whom he had highly diſoblig'd, when under *Leo* he had abus'd the

A. D. 477.

Zeno *reſtor'd.*

the Favour and Authority of that Emperor to the gratifying his Cruelty, Avarice and Ambition. *Zeno*, immediately after his Reſtitution, took care by ſeveral Acts of Grace to reconcile himſelf to the Orthodox Chriſtians; he cancell'd all the Edicts that had been publiſh'd by *Baſilicus* in favour of Hereticks, built ſeveral Religious Houſes, and removed all thoſe Biſhops, that during the late Confuſions, had thruſt themſelves into the Church, through the Favour and Connivance of the Tyrant; and this he did not ſo much out of any juſt Zeal to the True Religion, as to ſupport himſelf the better by the Intereſt of the Catholick Party, and obtain the good Will of *Simplicius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe Aſſiſtance would be of great Uſe to him in his intended Deſigns againſt *Odoacer*, whom he accounted as no other than an Uſurper, tho' he govern'd in the Weſt with much Prudence and Moderation, reſtoring to the Cities their ancient Privileges, contributing largely to the re-edifying thoſe that had been deſtroy'd by the Fury of the War, and diſtributing Juſtice to all with an impartial Hand; as appears by the Puniſhment he inflicted on *Viator* and *Ovida*, two Commanders, who envying *Nepos* the Tranquility he enjoy'd at *Salone* in *Dalmatia*, whither he had been forced to retire after *Oreſtes* had diveſted him of the Imperial Ornaments, and where he liv'd without ever buſying himſelf with the Affairs of State, ſurpriz'd him in his Houſe, and murder'd him. At the ſame time he gave the People of *Liguria* a ſignal Inſtance of his great Mercy and Clemency, in remitting to them a heavy Tax impos'd upon 'em by *Pelagius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and behav'd himſelf in all reſpects with ſo much Tenderneſs towards the Catholick Chriſtians, that *Simplicius* could not forbear admiring the great Goodneſs of God, who after ſo many ſtrange Convulſions and Revolutions in the

Odoacer's *prudent Management in the Weſt.*

*The Death of* Nepos.

State, had at length bleſs'd the Churches of *Italy* with an univerſal Repoſe, tho' under the Government of an Heretick. This made *Odoacer* acceptable to the People in general, it being ſeldom known, that the Subject calls the Title of the Prince in queſtion, till being oppreſs'd in his private Intereſt, he is provok'd to examine into that of the Publick.

A. D. 481. This general good Will, with which *Odoacer* reign'd in *Italy*, increas'd *Zeno*'s Averſion to him, and made him more intent upon his Deſtruction; from the Proſecution of which he was diverted by ſome Domeſtick Troubles, occaſion'd firſt by *Theodorich*, a *Scythian*, the Son of *Triarius*, who enter'd *Thrace* with a very powerful Army of *Goths*, and came within four Miles of *Conſtantinople*, which he had certainly taken, had not his own Men, either out of Envy to his Succeſs, or Fear of the Enemy, over-rul'd and perſuaded him to return: Shortly after which he was kill'd by a Fall from his Horſe.

A. D. 482. *Zeno* was ſcarce recover'd from the Apprehenſion of this Invaſion, before freſh Troubles of more dangerous Conſequence interrupted his Repoſe; for *Martian* the Son of *Anthemius*, one of the late *Roman* Emperors, rais'd a Civil War in the Empire, to which he laid Claim in Right of his Wife *Leonthia*, the Daughter of *Leo*, who being the younger, was born after her Father had been advanc'd to the Empire; whereas *Zeno*'s Wife was born whilſt he was a private Man. Upon theſe Pretences he rais'd an Army, conſiſting chiefly of Malecontents, and ſuch whom the Miſcarriages of former Factions had prepared for any deſperate Attempt: with theſe he ſo reſolutely attack'd *Zeno*, that he ſhut him up in his Palace, and had he purſu'd his Deſign with the ſame Vigour he begun, he had, in all probability, ſucceeded; but thinking himſelf ſecure of the Emperor, and that it was

*Martian Rebels.*

impoſſible for him to miſcarry in the Attempt, he deferr'd the farther Proſecution of it till the next Morning, which gave *Zeno* Time to conſult his own Safety, and draw off ſeveral of the adverſe Party to his Intereſt. Theſe at the next Encounter forſook *Martian*, who was forc'd to fly for Safety into *Cappadocia*, where he held a private Life for ſome time among the *Monks*; but being at length diſcover'd dy *Zeno*, he baniſh'd him into *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where he was made a Prieſt.

This Inſurrection was no ſooner quell'd, before freſh Commotions in the Eaſt threw *Zeno* into new Perplexities; for *Leontius*, Governor of *Syria*, at the Inſtigation of *Verina* the Empreſs, and Mother-in-Law to *Zeno*, aſſum'd the Imperial Purple; againſt whom the Emperor immediately diſpatch'd *Illus*, the Captain of his Guards, whom *Verina* careſs'd, and manag'd with ſo much Addreſs, that inſtead of oppoſing *Leontius*, he betray'd his Maſter, and join'd with the Rebels. This Revolution threaten'd *Zeno* with no leſs than an utter Ruin, for he knew they were all Perſons of great Power in the Empire, and whom he had highly incens'd by his ingrateful Carriage, for they had been of great Service to him in his former Extremities. Wherefore, the better to ſecure himſelf againſt ſo terrible a Tempeſt, he addreſs'd himſelf to *Theodorich Rumal*, King of the *Oſtrogoths*, who had for ſome Years been brought up in the Emperor's Court, where he had formerly been detain'd as an Hoſtage. He was a Prince, Comely and Courageous, having great Part of *Illyricum* under his Dominion, where he kept a powerful Army conſtantly on foot, the better to ſecure his Authority. *Zeno* earneſtly invited him to *Conſtantinople*, where being arrived, he received him with great Honour, made him many Royal Preſents, yielded up to him that Part of *Dacia* and *Myſia* that border'd upon his own Territories,

Leontius *ſets up for himſelf.*

Zeno *courts* Theodorich *the* Goth *to his Party.*

tories, made him General of his Armies, nam'd him Conſul for the Year enſuing, adopted him his Son, and promis'd to aſſiſt him in driving *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, and crown him King in his ſtead; and all this to engage him to undertake the War in *Syria*. This Prince being of an active aſpiring Temper, readily embrac'd ſuch advantagious Conditions, and prepar'd chearfully for the Expedition.

Tho' *Theodorich* very zealouſly embrac'd the Service, and march'd into *Syria* with a numerous and well-appointed Army, yet the Rebels made a greater Oppoſition, and maintain'd the War longer than was expected. The People in thoſe Parts were grown weary of the preſent Government, and generally deſirous of a Change; ſo that for eight Years together *Leontius* diſputed it with various Succeſs, till at length being defeated in a pitch'd Battle by *Theodorich*, he was conſtrain'd to fly, together with *Illus*, into a Caſtle call'd *Papyrus*, where they were both taken, and their Heads ſent to the Emperor at *Conſtantinople*. *Zeno* was well aſſur'd *Verina* had been the grand Promoter of the War, for which reaſon he baniſh'd her into *Thrace*, where ſhe dy'd in a ſhort time after.

About this time there happen'd very unſeaſonable Diſputes between the Churches of the Eaſt and the Weſt, occaſion'd chiefly by the indiſcreet Obſtinacy of *Acacius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and *Felix*, Biſhop of *Rome*; which proceeded ſo far, that *Acacius* openly declar'd himſelf an Heretick, preferring the great Patrons of Hereſie in moſt Parts of the Eaſt, and driving thoſe out of their Sees that ſtood firm to the Orthodox Faith; upon which the Pope ſummon'd a Synod, and excommunicated him, and *Acacius* on the other hand did the like by the Pope: And as this was the firſt open Quarrel between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Chriſtians, ſo it brought innumerable Miſchiefs upon the Church, to the exceeding

ceeding Detriment of Chriſtianity. Nor was the State of the Church in a much better Condition in *Africk*, where *Honric* had lately ſucceeded his Father *Genſerich*, who after a victorious Reign of fifty eight Years, dy'd in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of that ſpacious Country.

Honric, *the Son of* Genſerich, *Tyrannizes in* Africk.

His Son *Honric*, as he ſucceeded his Father in all his Dominions, ſo he inherited his violent Affection for the *Arian* Hereſie, and bitter Spirit of Perſecution; he commanded all the great Officers of the Court to embrace the ſame Profeſſion with himſelf, otherwiſe he threaten'd to remove them from their Employments; and thoſe who refus'd to comply, were baniſh'd into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, where they underwent unexpreſſible Torments with an unſhaken Conſtancy, encourag'd to it by the prevalent Examples of their Paſtors. The better to countenance theſe his inhumane Proceedings, he made uſe of Stratagems unworthy a Prince or Chriſtian, in which, when he ſaw himſelf defeated, he baniſh'd at once, with an infamous Barbarity, near ſeven thouſand Eccleſiaſticks into the Deſarts of *Africk*, without regard to the Age and Infirmity of ſeveral among them.

He took from all the Orthodox the Power of diſpoſing of any thing by Donation, by Teſtament, or any other way whatſoever, and perſiſted ſo obſtinately in his Perſecution, that his Subjects found themſelves under a neceſſity of renouncing the Faith, or quitting their Habitations, and embracing a deſpicable Poverty in a voluntary Exile. The Writers of that Age have recorded ſeveral Miracles effected by the Martyrs of thoſe Times, how ſome upbraided the Tyrant for his Cruelty, even after they had been depriv'd of their Tongues by his Command, the Power of the Holy Ghoſt wonderfully ſupplying the Defect of Nature; how others by their extraordinary Piety were able to

raiſe the Dead, and, which is almoſt as miraculous, tir'd their very Executioners by their Conſtancy and Perſeverance; how *Vindemialis*, *Longinus*, and *Eugenius*, three Holy Biſhops, by their repeated Miracles confounded their Adverſaries, who attempting to delude the People by a Repreſentation of the like, hired a poor Man, with a conſiderable Sum of Money, to counterfeit Blindneſs; but as they pretended by their Prayers to Touch and Heal him, he was that inſtant ſtruck really Blind; and feeling the Hand of God heavy upon him, confeſs'd the Cheat, and apply'd himſelf to the three Confeſſors for their Heavenly Conſolation, who invoking the Name of the Holy Trinity, reſtor'd him to his Sight; at which the Tyrant was ſo enrag'd, that he commanded *Longinus* and *Vindemialis* to be put to Death, and baniſh'd *Eugenius* into a Deſart near *Tripoly*.

Nor did he exert his Cruelty only upon a Religious Account, but extended it even to his neareſt Relations; for he put his Brother *Theodorich*'s Wife and her Children to Death, the better to ſecure the Succeſſion to his Son, and proceeded with equal Severity againſt all ſuch whoſe Virtue or Intereſt in the State render'd 'em obnoxious to his Suſpicions. I thought fit to mention thus much in this Place, to give the Reader a better view of the Condition of the Faithful, and of the Difficulties with which Chriſtianity was to contend, tho' ſtill ſupported by an inviſible Power, to whom the Wiſdom of this World is Fooliſhneſs, and who has promis'd his Church that the Gates of Hell ſhall never be able to prevail againſt it. The Vengeance of God overtook the Tyrant ſhortly after in a moſt terrible Death, which depriv'd him at once of his Life and Dignity: He was ſucceeded in the State by one of his Nephews, notwithſtanding all his Precautions, in which he deſign'd his Son for his Succeſſor.

In

In the mean time *Zeno*, who began to apprehend no farther Danger from his Enemies, abandon'd himſelf to all manner of Licentiouſneſs, in which, as it is uſual, he was follow'd by the reſt of his Court: His diſſolute Courſe of living threw him upon an Expence that far exceeded his ordinary Revenue, and that forc'd him upon unuſual Exactions, in which he burden'd and oppreſs'd his People. Among other Methods he had to raiſe Money, none render'd him ſo odious to his Subjects, as his expoſing to Sale all the profitable Offices of the Empire; ſo that in a ſhort time all the great Poſts of Truſt and Honour were fill'd, not by ſuch who had Worth enough to deſerve, but Money to purchaſe 'em; by which means the Emperor by degrees grew as deſpicable to his People in his Officers as his Perſon; whereas Men of Honour and Integrity about their Prince, often skreen him from the Contempt of the Publick. *Zeno* had a Son, of whoſe Education he took particular Care, deſigning him for his Succeſſor; but his Father's Example, and that of his Aſſociates, render'd him ſo proud and debauch'd, that he grew inſupportable to all Mankind, and his Irregularities threw him into a dangerous Diſtemper, which in a ſhort time ended his Days. *Zeno* being diſappointed of his Hopes in his Son, releas'd his Brother *Longinus*, who had been detain'd in Priſon, ſome ſay by the Emperot's Order, others by that of *Illus*, and had a great Deſire to create him *Cæſar*; but he was ſo notoriouſly profligate, that all the Men of Worth and Reputation in the Empire oppos'd him, particularly *Pelagius*, a Patrician, and a Perſon of great Honour and Intereſt, who was therefore murder'd not long after by the Emperor's expreſs Order.

*Zeno's Court debauch'd.*

Theſe Diſappointments in his own Family made *Zeno* view *Theodorich* with a ſuſpicious Eye, who not

raiſe the Dead, and, which is almoſt as miraculous, tir'd their very Executioners by their Conſtancy and Perſeverance; how *Vindemialis*, *Longinus*, and *Eugenius*, three Holy Biſhops, by their repeated Miracles confounded their Adverſaries, who attempting to delude the People by a Repreſentation of the like, hired a poor Man, with a conſiderable Sum of Money, to counterfeit Blindneſs; but as they pretended by their Prayers to Touch and Heal him, he was that inſtant ſtruck really Blind; and feeling the Hand of God heavy upon him, confeſs'd the Cheat, and apply'd himſelf to the three Confeſſors for their Heavenly Conſolation, who invoking the Name of the Holy Trinity, reſtor'd him to his Sight; at which the Tyrant was ſo enrag'd, that he commanded *Longinus* and *Vindemialis* to be put to Death, and baniſh'd *Eugenius* into a Deſart near *Tripoly*.

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not long after return'd with Conqueſt, and who ſeem'd to have deſerv'd too much from the indigent Emperor, or at leaſt more than he was willing or able to pay. Of this the King of the *Goths* was quickly ſenſible, and therefore deſpairing of any Reward at Home, he reminded him of his former Promiſe, and the Leave he gave him to Conquer *Italy*, which he told him Odoacer *had thus long Uſurp'd in Contempt of the Imperial Majeſty*; adding, *That if he ſucceeded in his Deſign, the Honour and Reputation of it would be* Zeno's; *but if he periſh'd in the Attempt, then would he be freed from a troubleſome Friend, and an expenſive Annual Penſion: That it was more reaſonable* Zeno *ſhould wiſh to ſee the Crown of* Italy *upon his Head, whom he had adopted for his Son, and bound to his Service by many Acts of Favour and Royal Bounty, than on that of a Tyrant, who detain'd the Senate and People of* Rome *in Slavery*. The Emperor being ſenſible that this was the ready way to remove a dangerous Neighbour, who taking all his *Goths* with him in his intended Expedition, muſt evacuate *Illyricum*, which by that means would return entire to his Obedience, inclin'd readily to his Demand, and promis'd not only to aſſiſt him in his Deſign, but put a Crown upon his Head; adviſing him to Rule with Clemency, and particularly recommended the Senate and People of *Rome* to his Protection. *Theodorich*, pleas'd with his Succeſs, flew with the agreeable News to his *Goths*, whom he animated with the Hopes of being ſhortly Maſters of the richeſt Country in the World: To which purpoſe he order'd 'em to Arm, and unite themſelves into one Body; and having loaded their Waggons with their Wives, their Children, and whatever of their Subſtance was moſt valuable, to wait his Father's Commands. In the mean time, whilſt he was intent upon his Expedition, *Tranſilla*, King of the *Gepides*,

A. D. 489. Theodorich's *Expedition into* Italy.

*Gepides* (at that time the Inhabitants of *Podolia*) and *Buſa*, King of *Bulgaria*, with united Forces fell upon him; induc'd to it, either out of Envy to his great Fortune, or at the Inſtigation of *Odoacer*, who by that means thought to divert a Storm which ſtood ready to diſcharge it ſelf upon his Head. However, *Theodorich* with an undaunted Reſolution engag'd and defeated 'em; after which he prepar'd to march with his victorious Army into *Italy*. The Year following, he paſs'd the *Drave* and the *Save*, directing his Courſe immediately for *Italy*, and in a ſet Battel overthrew *Odoacer*, who was forc'd to fly with his broken Troops to *Verona*. Thither *Theodorich* follow'd him, and tho' the King behav'd himſelf like a brave experienc'd Commander, he was again routed near the Place, and many of his Soldiers threw themſelves into the *Adige*, where they were all drown'd. A. D. 460.

The Citizens of *Verona*, aſtoniſh'd at the Succeſs of this Warlike Prince, open'd their Gates and receiv'd him into the City. After this he was Surnam'd *Veronenſis*, in Memory of the great Victory he obtain'd near *Verona*, and in regard that was the firſt remarkable City in *Italy* that receiv'd and acknowledg'd him. *Odoacer* engag'd him once more upon the *Adda*, and tho' he was renown'd for his Courage and Diſcipline, yet was he a third time defeated; after which he march'd with great Precipitation to *Rome*, hoping if he could preſerve that City firm to his Intereſt, he ſhould ſtill maintain himſelf Maſter of *Italy*: But the Citizens upon his Approach ſhut their Gates againſt him, declaring, that in Obedience to *Zeno*'s Commands, they were reſolv'd to acknowledge *Theodorich* for their Prince. *Odoacer*, incens'd at this Anſwer, plunder'd and burnt the Suburbs; after which he march'd towards *Ravenna*, where he met with *Libella*, General of *Theodorich*'s Army, engag'd, defeated, and ſlew him;

him; whereupon he was receiv'd the 10th of *July* into the City.

In the mean time *Theodorich* was advanc'd to *Milan*, which after a ſhort Siege, he took by Storm. Whilſt he continued there, ſeveral of the *Italian* Soldiers that had deſerted from *Odoacer*, came and enter'd themſelves into his Service; tho' they forſook him again ſhortly after. *Theodorich* quitting *Milan*, march'd with his Army to *Pavia*, where he was well receiv'd, and in which he was beſieg'd by *Odoacer*, who having refreſh'd and recruited his Forces, came and ſate down before it; but the *Goths* defended the Place with ſo much Reſolution, and by frequent Sallies ſo harraſs'd the Enemy, that the King found himſelf oblig'd to raiſe the Siege, and retir'd with his Army towards *Ravenna*: *Theodorich* follow'd him with all Expedition, leaving the Wives and Children of his *Goths* behind him in *Pavia*, and recommending them to the Protection of *Epiphanius*, the renown'd Biſhop of the Place.

A. D. 491. Whilſt *Theodorich* was thus purſuing his Fortunes in *Italy*, *Zeno* the Emperor, who in a great meaſure had given Life to the Enterprize, dy'd at *Conſtantinople*, after he had govern'd the Affairs of the Eaſt about eighteen Years, either as Adminiſtrator of the Empire, in behalf of his Son *Leo*, or abſolute, in himſelf. The Manner of his Death was hinted at in the former Volume; and tho' Authors vary as to the Circumſtances of it, yet they all allow it to have been violent, and that his Life and Death were of a piece, ſhameful and ignominious.

Zeno *dies.*

*His Character.* He was a Man void of every Quality requiſite to a Prince, in regard either of Church or State; and was ſo compleat a Monſter, that he had not the Art even of Diſſimulation; ſo that the beſt that can be ſaid of him is, He was no Hypocrite; for he was a profeſs'd Debauchee, an open Heretick, and a declar'd Enemy to every thing that ſavour'd not of

of the ſame Brutality with himſelf. I know, that at the Expulſion of *Baſiliſcus*, and his own Re-eſtabliſhment, he for ſome time appear'd a diligent Aſſerter of the Orthodox Faith; but his Zeal was of ſo ſhort a Date, and attended with ſuch Circumſtances, as made it viſible to the World, that Diſſimulation was not his Talent. If the Account we have given of his Death upon the Authority of *Zonaras* be true, it ſeem'd a juſt Judgment from God upon him, that he who appear'd like one dead amongſt the Living, ſhould even whilſt alive be conſorted with the Dead.

II. Immediately upon *Zeno*'s Death, *Longinus* his Brother, and as great a Monſter as himſelf, laid claim to the Empire; but his Vices had render'd him ſo odious as well to the Senate as the People, that tho' he had obtain'd too great Power during his Brother's Reign, yet *Ariadne*, Widow to the deceas'd Emperor, met with little Oppoſition in her Deſigns for *Anaſtaſius*, a Native of *Epidamnus*, and of ſmall Intereſt or Reputation in the Court till his Advancement to the Imperial Dignity, which *Ariadne* effected, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition *Longinus* could make; who was ſhortly after ſent back under a ſtrong Guard to *Iſauria*, attended by many more of his Countrymen, who deſired Leave to return home. ANASTASIUS.

*Anaſtaſius* being a Man of mean Condition, the great Zeal *Ariadne* expreſs'd in his Promotion, and her receiving him to her Bed ſhortly after, made the World quickly conceive, that even in his private State ſome Familiarities had paſs'd between 'em, too ſhameful and ſcandalous for the publick View. He was crown'd on the Ninth of *April*, by *Euphemius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who abſolutely refus'd to place the Imperial Crown on his Head, before he had oblig'd himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to obſerve

observe the Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*; because his Uncle and Mother being profes'd Hereticks, there was great reason to believe him no true Friend either to the one or the other. He was too great a Politician not to make a Virtue of Necessity, so that he submitted for the present, tho' he afterwards prov'd a great Persecutor of the Orthodox Christians. He is said in his Youth, and whilst a private Man, to have led a very reserv'd abstemious Life, and to have given great Instances of his extraordinary Piety, going every Morning to Church before it was Day, where he employ'd himself several Hours together in his Devotion, both publick and private; and was so remarkable for his Charity, and other Christian Virtues, that when some time after his Election he appear'd in publick in the *Circus*, the People receiv'd him with a general Joy, and unanimously besought him *to govern with that Integrity, in which till then he had liv'd.* And indeed he began his Reign with several Acts of Grace, abolishing the *Chrysargyrum*, a scandalous Tribute imposed not only upon the Head of all Persons throughout the Empire, of what Age, Sex or Condition soever, as Harlots, Beggars, Slaves, divorc'd Women, and the like, but upon Horses, Mules, Dogs, Asses, Oxen, nay Dung it self, and levied every fourth Year with all the Rigour imaginable, which rais'd a general Murmur among the People, who were sometimes hardly restrain'd from breaking out into Rebellion. At the same time he banish'd all Informers out of the City, and put a stop to a great Corruption, countenanc'd and introduc'd by former Emperors, who permitted the Publick Offices of State to be expos'd to Sale, to the great Corruption of Justice, and Oppression of the Subject.

*Begins his Reign with the general Approbation of the People.*

By these Means *Anastasius* at first render'd himself highly grateful to the People, especially to the Catholick Christians, who began to applaud the Change,

Change, effected, as it was generally conceiv'd, by the Artifices of *Ariadne*, who, inſtead of *Zeno*, a Perſon corrupt in his Principles of Religion, and infamous in his Behaviour, had now bleſs'd them with a Prince, who ſeem'd at once to confirm and eſtabliſh the true Faith by his Edicts, and adorn it by his Example; ſo that the Church promis'd it ſelf an uninterrupted Repoſe under ſo propitious an Adminiſtration. *Felix*, Biſhop of *Rome*, had no ſooner heard of his Election, but he congratulated his Advancement by Letters full of Reſpect, in which he exhorted him *to perſevere in the Faith, and put a Stop to the great Progreſs Hereſie had made in the Eaſt, through the Authority and Connivance of his Predeceſſor* Zeno, *and* Acacius *late Patriarch of* Conſtantinople. It was a Cuſtom with the moſt active among the *Arians* to prepoſſeſs, as much as they could, every new Prince in favour of their damnable Errors, and repreſent the Catholick Prelates, as People obſtinate and intractable, who labour'd to create and promote Diviſions in the Church, to the utter ruin of that Chriſtian Charity, the great Badge of their Profeſſion. Theſe Practices *Felix* in his Letters took care to obviate, and ſucceeded ſo far, that *Anaſtaſius* did not break out preſently, tho' in time he became a great Plague to the Church.

During theſe Tranſactions and Changes of State in the Eaſt, *Theodorich* purſu'd his Conqueſts with much Succeſs in the Weſt, he preſs'd hard upon *Odoacer*, who deſired to try his Fortune in another Battle, before he ſhut himſelf up within the Walls of *Ravenna*, and was again defeated; ſo that he was forced to retire into the Town, and make the beſt Preparations he could for a Siege. It was ſo well fortified by Art and Nature, and ſo ſtrongly garriſon'd, that *Theodorich* found it impoſſible to take it by Force, and therefore choſe rather to block it A. D. 491.

up, and reduce it by Famine; to which Purpoſe he order'd a great Part of his Army to ſtraiten it both by Sea and Land, and march'd with the reſt to conquer thoſe other Towns that ſtill continu'd firm in their Obedience to *Odoacer*; and by degrees grew ſo ſtrong in *Italy*, through his indefatigable Induſtry, that *Gandabond*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, ſurpriz'd at his prodigious Progreſs, by an expreſs Embaſſy courted his Alliance, promiſing to reſign *Sicily* up to him, which till that time he had grievouſly moleſted. *Theodorich* receiv'd the Ambaſſadors with great Civility, and having taken in all the *Italian* Towns that held out againſt him, except *Ceſena*, which he thought not fit to attempt, becauſe he knew it was defended by a very numerous Garriſon, he return'd to the Siege of *Ravenna*, where *Odoacer* ſtill made a very brave and vigorous Reſiſtance, and by his frequent Sallies greatly incommoded the Beſiegers, who, however, ſeem'd obſtinately reſolv'd to take it. The *Goths* had for a long time ſo ſtraitly beleaguer'd
A. D. 493. the Town, that the Famine appear'd more terrible within, than the Enemy was without the Walls, and render'd the Defenders weak and diſpirited. In this Condition *Odoacer* muſter'd the beſt and moſt reſolute of all his Troops, and taking the advantage of the Night, ſallied out with ſuch a deſperate Courage upon the Enemy, that they firſt put 'em into Diſorder, and after that to Flight; *Theodorich* himſelf in the general Confuſion accompanying his fugitive Soldiers, till at length perceiving his Error, he made 'em rally and face the Enemy. Some ſay, his Mother meeting him in the Rout, ask'd him, in Imitation of the ancient *Spartan* Matrons, *Whither he was flying?* and bid him *remember he had no Place left to conceal himſelf, unleſs he deſign'd to return into her Womb, there to hide his ignominious Head:* That being nearly touch'd

by

by ſo ſeaſonable a Reproof, he ſtopp'd, and turn'd againſt the Beſieg'd; who were ſo far from following the Purſuit, that they were buſied in pillaging the Camp, and ſupplying themſelves with Proviſions, of which they found great Plenty, and for want of which they were almoſt famiſh'd. The *Goths* taking the advantage of their Indiſcretion, fell with great Fury upon 'em, recover'd that Victory out of their Hands, which had they known how to make a right uſe of, would have been indiſputable, and forc'd him with great Slaughter back into the City, where a general Want of all things neceſſary and convenient, imbitter'd the Senſe of their Defeat. But foraſmuch as on the other hand the *Goths* were extreamly weaken'd by the Fatigues of ſo long and obſtinate a Siege, *John*, Biſhop of the Place, was upon that Conſideration encourag'd to propoſe ſome Terms of Accommodation, and ſucceeded ſo well in it, that after ſeveral Conferences and Intermediations, a Treaty was concluded between the two Kings, by vertue of which they were equally to ſhare, not only the City of *Ravenna*, but the Kingdom of *Italy*. Accordingly the Siege was rais'd the twenty ſeventh of *February*, and on the fifth of *March* all the People and Clergy went to receive *Theodorich*, who made a publick Entry into the City, and was ſaluted King with the univerſal Acclamations of the Inhabitants, being lodged together with *Odoacer* in the Royal Palace, where for ſome time they liv'd, and convers'd familiarly together as Friends.

*A Peace concluded between the two Kings.*

In this friendly Correſpondence they liv'd but a very ſhort time, for *Theodorich* being jealous of his Royal Companion, and impatient of a Rival in Empire, invited *Odoacer* to a Banquet, where in the height of his Mirth and Security he order'd him to be aſſaſſinated together with his only Son, whom the imprudent Father had brought with him to the

A. D. 493.

Odoacer *murder'd.*

bloody Feaſt. As a Reaſon for this inhoſpitable Cruelty, *Theodorich* alledg'd, That *Odoacer*, contrary to the late Agreement and Union between 'em, had entertain'd pernicious Counſels againſt him; and that nothing but the ſence of his own Danger had forc'd him to that rigorous Proceeding. From this we may learn, that no Ties of Honour or Humanity are ſufficient to reſtrain ambitious Princes, and that a Fellowſhip in Empire is a Notion vain and impracticable.

Theodorich *declar'd King of* Italy.

Hereupon *Theodorich* became abſolute in *Italy*, where he govern'd above three and thirty Years with much Prudence and Moderation; reſtoring Order and Diſcipline, by his peaceable and wholſome Laws, to a Country where the Licenſe of the preceding Wars had introduc'd Confuſion and Barbarity; in this he was much aſſiſted by *Caſſiodorus*, his chief Secretary, a Man of great Learning, Prudence and Application, who ſtudy'd to inure the reſtleſs Minds of the *Goths* to the Arts of Peace, and ſoften them with the Delights that attend it. *Theodorich*'s firſt Care was to court the Friendſhip of *Anaſtaſius*, which he did in a ſolemn Embaſſy deputed to that purpoſe; and at the ſame time he enter'd into ſuch Treaties and Alliances with the Weſtern Princes that were his Neighbours, as he judg'd would moſt conduce to his own particular Advantage, and the publick Tranquility.

*Theodorich*'s Ambaſſadors found *Anaſtaſius* ready to liſten to any Overtures of Peace, not only becauſe it was uſually his Cuſtom to purchaſe it at a high rate from his Enemies, but for that he was now taken up with the *Iſaurian* War rais'd by *Longinus*, the Brother of *Zeno*, who, as we obſerv'd before, was ſuffer'd by *Anaſtaſius* to retire into his own Country, where he preſently began with great Diligence to raiſe ſuch an Army as would enable him to contend upon equal Terms with *Anaſtaſius*.

This

This War, the Particulars of which are not left us in Hiſtory, continu'd with various Succeſs for ſix Years together, till at length *Anaſtaſius* prevail'd; for having by his Generals defeated *Longinus* in a pitch'd Battle, he took him Priſoner, and brought him to *Conſtantinople*, where, after ſeveral Indignities offer'd his Perſon, he order'd his Head to be ſtruck off, and fix'd upon one of the moſt publick Places in the City. *Conon*, Biſhop of *Apamea*, enter'd into this Quarrel in behalf of *Longinus*, and being the firſt we meet with in Hiſtory that quitted the ſacred Function to follow Arms, God thought fit to puniſh his Preſumption with a violent Death.

But whilſt Affairs were thus manag'd in *Iſauria*, A. D. a War of greater Conſequence, and more Danger to 494. the Church, continu'd between the Biſhop of *Rome* and the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, in which the Emperor thought fit to make himſelf a Party, to ſuch a height were the Diſputes aggravated between 'em. *Acacius*, the late Patriarch, dy'd at leaſt a profeſs'd Favourer of Hereticks, for which Reaſon the Biſhop of *Rome* requir'd *Euphemius* to eraſe his Name out of the *Diptychs*, as it was uſual in ſuch Caſes, and which *Euphemius*, tho' by repeated Admonitions enjoin'd to do it, peremptorily refus'd; tho' at the ſame time he was ſo far from Countenancing, or Communicating with Hereticks, that at his firſt Advancement he ſummon'd a Synod for the Confirmation of the Orthodox Faith, and Condemnation of *Peter* and *Alexander*, who in a Convocation of his own, calling had condemn'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, and Excommunicated *Euphemius*. Notwithſtanding which, *Felix*, at that time Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Succeſſor *Gelaſius*, were ſo little ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of the Patriarch, or rather ſo ambitious of exerting their Authority over other Sees, that upon that Pretence they refus'd to Communicate

municate with *Euphemius*; from whence a Schism arose, which continu'd with much Animosity for thirty Years together, tho' the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* were as Orthodox in their Faith as the Bishops of *Rome*, who however would listen to no Accommodation, 'till *Acacius* his Name, together with that of *Flavitas* his Successor, were eras'd, who indeed had but too well deserv'd it. We may here observe how different the Method the Popes at present use in their Excommunications is from their Proceedings formerly; for then by Excommunication they intended no more, than that they would no longer Communicate with those upon whom they pass'd the Censure; whereas they now not only pretend to deny the Excommunicated Person the Benefit of Divine Service, a Participation in the Holy Sacraments, and the Right of Christian Burial, but to Interdict whole Estates and Principalities at once, delivering 'em up to the Claim of him that can first conquer 'em.

A. D. 495. *Anastasius* had from the Beginning entertain'd a great Prejudice to *Euphemius*, by reason he had so peremptorily refus'd to Crown him 'till he had subscrib'd to the Council of *Chalcedon*: This Aversion was much improved by *Euphemius* his firm Adherence to the Orthodox Faith, and insisting upon the Observation of that Council; whereas the Emperor was equally displeas'd with such as condemn'd it, as well as those who obstinately defended it, desiring the very Memory of it might be abolish'd, forbidding the Bishops to dispute upon any of the controverted Points, confining those who maintain'd it to such Churches where it had been condemn'd, and banishing them that rejected it into those Places where it was most vigorously asserted. These Proceedings of the Emperor encreas'd the Animosities, which he pretended by his affected Moderation to allay, and rais'd a horrible

rible Schiſm in the Churches of the *Eaſt*, and in *Egypt*: *Anaſtaſius* himſelf in the mean time being as corrupt in his Principles of Religion as the very worſt of 'em, tho' they knew not well in what *Claſſis* or Sect to place him; however they ſeem to be moſt in the right, who make him an Aſſociate of the *Acephaly*, or *Hæſitantes*, ſo call'd, becauſe they agreed with neither of the contending Parties, nor yet were headed by any particular Perſon, by whoſe Name they might diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the World. The *Iſaurian* War gave him, as he thought, a juſt Opportunity of revenging himſelf upon *Euphemius*, who continu'd ſtill to threaten him with Excommunication unleſs he put a ſtop to the Perſecution rais'd againſt the Catholicks, and forbore Communicating with the Hereticks. He accus'd him of Countenancing and Aſſiſting the *Iſaurians* in the War againſt him; upon which Pretence he remov'd him from his See, and ſent him into Exile, in which Condition he dy'd, much to be commended for his Conſtancy and Reſolution. *Euphemius baniſh'd.*

*Anaſtaſius* having thus made uſe of his Authority in the Puniſhment of *Euphemius*, thought his Succeſſors, being taught by his Example, would for the future expreſs themſelves with more Compliance and Submiſſion to his Pleaſure, but quickly found the ſame Spirit of Truth animated *Macedonius*, who ſucceeded him, and who was a Learned, Pious, and Orthodox Prelate, and who, upon that Account, became as unacceptable as his Predeceſſor had been to the Emperor *Anaſtatius*; who finding himſelf at laſt deliver'd by a compleat Victory from the Danger of the *Iſaurian* War, triumph'd with much Solemnity at *Conſtantinople*; where, being now at Peace at home, he was perſuaded by his Favourites to declare War againſt *Theodorich* in *Italy*, whoſe extraordinary Succeſs

ceſs and Proſperity in thoſe Parts was no ways acceptable to the Miniſters of State. But *Theodorich*, upon the firſt Intimation of what they were agitating againſt him, ſent to renew the former Alliance, and by that means put a ſtop to a War that might otherwiſe, one Day, have thrown the World into freſh Confuſions; and all this was entirely owing to the prudent Management and peaceable Spirit of *Theodorich*, who was univerſally belov'd by his Subjects, and courted and admir'd by the Princes his Neighbours, tho' for no one Quality ſo much as his excellent Juſtice. To the *Rugians*, *Heruli*, and other barbarous Nations, as had been call'd in by *Odoacer*, and had lately poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Pavia*, and ſome other little Towns that adjoin'd to it, he aſſign'd new Poſſeſſions, conferring thoſe they had formerly enjoy'd, upon his own Friends and Followers; and was ſo far from expreſſing any Reſentment towards them that had perſiſted in their Faith inviolable towards *Odoacer*, that he not only pardon'd 'em, but preferr'd ſuch as were willing to ſerve him with Places of Truſt, Honour, and Profit, but never receiv'd thoſe into Grace, who contrary to their Faith given to him, had revolted to *Odoacer*, and after the Death of that Prince again courted his Favour. He order'd all Suits and Controverſies ariſing among *Goths*, to be determin'd by *Gothick* Judges, and thoſe that depended between *Italians* to be decided by *Italians*; but in caſe any Difference aroſe between a *Goth* and an *Italian*, then was the Cauſe to be try'd before Judges of both Nations reſpectively; and accordingly he eſtabliſh'd Magiſtrates in all Cities, the better to bring whatever Controverſies ſhould happen to a ſpeedy Iſſue. As to Religion he was himſelf an *Arian*, but withal ſo favourable and impartial to the Orthodox Chriſtians, that he ſuffer'd none of his Subjects to quit their Principles out of

*Theodorich governs with much Prudence in Italy.*

Com-

Complaiſance to him, as he made it appear to the World, when one of his chief Favourites, who had been bred up, and till then embrac'd the Catholick Profeſſion, made a Complement of his Faith to *Theodorich*, and turn'd *Arian*: *Theodorich* was ſo enrag'd at his Apoſtacy, that he order'd him immediately to be Beheaded, (ſome ſay that he ſlew him with his own Hands) ſaying, *How can I expect thou wilt be juſt and faithful to me, who am but a Man, when thou haſt preſum'd ſhamefully to deſert the Eternal God?* Nor did he ſignalize himſelf for his Juſtice in this reſpect alone, but when a Sedition happen'd at *Rome* the Year following upon the Death of *Anaſtaſius*, Biſhop of that City, and the Election of a Succeſſor, he ſhow'd himſelf a Prince more inclinable to heal the Breaches of the Church, than promote the Diviſions with which at that time it was moſt grievouſly afflicted: For, four Days after the Death of *Anaſtaſius*, two Perſons, by two different Factions, were elected to ſucceed him: *Symmachus*, ſupported by *Fauſtus*, and ſeveral others of great Authority in the Senate; and *Laurentius*, protected by *Feſtus* and *Sabinus*, Men of equal Intereſt in the ſame Aſſembly. The Ambition of the Competitors, and the Obſtinacy of their Partiſans, rais'd a ſort of Civil War in *Rome*, and ſeveral on both Sides loſt their Lives in the Quarrel; at laſt they were forc'd to have recourſe to *Theodorich* for his Deciſion, who reſiding then at *Ravenna*, where he uſually kept his Court, thither Perſons deputed from both Parties went to attend him, and having acquainted him with the Grounds of their Debate, he ſilenc'd their Diſputes, by Ordaining, That he ſhould be confirm'd Biſhop of *Rome*, who had been firſt Elected, and was ſupported by the Majority of Voices; whereupon *Symmachus*, who had been firſt choſen, and that by a great Majority, was created Biſhop;

A. D. 498.

*A Civil War in* Rome.

Biſhop; tho' there was a ſort of Contention in the Church upon that Account, which continu'd three Years together: So obſtinately ambitious were the *Roman* Clergy in thoſe Days, that through their Feuds and Animoſities, the Church was forc'd to have recourſe to the Deciſions of an Heretick Prince.

A. D. 499. As ſoon as *Symmachus* was eſtabliſh'd, he acquainted the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* with his Promotion, and adjur'd him at the ſame time to abandon the Favour and Protection he ſhow'd the Hereticks, to the great Scandal and Affliction of the Faithful. The Emperor was ſo far from giving ear to his Exhortations, that he affronted his Meſſengers, and declar'd himſelf an open Enemy to thoſe who adher'd to, or favour'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, continuing deaf to all the Remonſtrances of Truth and Reaſon: But God was ſo provok'd with this his Obſtinacy, that he rais'd the *Bulgarians* againſt him, who with a numerous Army invaded and deſtroy'd *Thrace*. Againſt theſe Barbarians the Emperor ſent *Ariſtus*, one of his Lieutenants, at the Head of fifteen thouſand Men, attended by five hundred and twenty Waggons laden with all things neceſſary for an Army. *Ariſtus*, in full Confidence of his own Strength, and Aſſurance of a Victory, offer'd the Enemy Battel near the River *Zarta*, where above four thouſand of the Imperialiſts were ſlain, among whom fell ſome of the moſt experienc'd Officers of the Empire. The unactive Emperor, inſtead of raiſing another Army with ſpeed, and chaſtiſing the Barbarians, who were grown inſolent upon their late Advantage, bought an ignominious Peace with a great Sum of Money, and ſo gaining a Reſpite at preſent from foreign Diſturbances, he had Leiſure to apply himſelf more zealouſly to encourage Hereticks, and perſecute the Faithful; which he did with a moſt implacable Malice, tho' God viſited him the ſame

*Anaſtaſius a great Perſecutor.*

*The Imperial Forces defeated by the* Bulgarians.

Year

Year with another Judgment; for a great part of the Country of *Pontus* was deſtroy'd by an Earthquake.

The Troubles and Diviſions in *Rome* were ſo far from being compos'd by *Theodorich*'s Sentence in favour of *Symmachus*, that the Conteſts were continu'd with great violence in the City; ſo that on one ſide and the other, infinite Murders were committed; and ſome ſay the greateſt part of the Clergy, and no ſmall number of the *Roman* Citizens dy'd in the Quarrel: This oblig'd *Theodorich* to take a Journey to *Rome* in Perſon, and try, by his Preſence, to determine ſo important an Affair. He made his Entry with a Pomp and Magnificence ſuitable to the Greatneſs of his Mind, and Affection of his People. *Rome* had not for a long time beheld any thing ſo Illuſtrious; it ſeem'd a Repreſentation of her former Grandeur, when her ancient Heroes return'd home with Honour and Conqueſt: the Citizens were ſo generally affected with the Sight of their King, that they all ſtriv'd to outvie each other in the ſenſe they had of the publick Proſperity, and their Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction. During this Triumph, *Fulgentius*, who was at preſent no more than a Monk, arriv'd at *Rome*; and after having viſited ſuch Places as he judg'd proper to quicken and kindle his Devotion, he went to the Ampitheatre, where the King was Addreſſing himſelf in a Gracious Speech to the People, and where it might truly be ſaid, all that was Great and Glorious in the World was collected into one Aſſembly. *Fulgentius* was ſurpriz'd at ſo auguſt an Appearance, and with a ſort of Extaſie, ſaid to thoſe that ſtood near him, *If earthly* Rome *is ſo exceeding Glorious, how much more Shining and Majeſtick muſt the Heavenly* Jeruſalem *be! And if Mortal Men are ſo delighted with the Pomp and Grandeur of this World, what*

Theodorich *goes to* Rome.

*Glory and Satisfaction must the Saints receive in the Contemplation of the Eternal God of Truth?*

A.D. 500. After *Theodorich* had visited the most remarkable Parts of the City, and given Order to have those that were decay'd, built more magnificent, if possible, than they were before, he assembled a Synod, in which the Election of *Symmachus* was confirm'd; and having compos'd the Affairs, as well of the Church as State, in the best manner he could, he return'd to *Ravenna*.

Whilst *Theodorich* thus employ'd himself for the Good of his Subjects in the West, *Anastasius* was following Methods quite contrary in the East; where he render'd himself odious by his Sloth, Wantonness and Cruelty. Whilst *Longinus*, the Brother of *Zeno* liv'd, or any Man in the Empire that had a Power and Inclination to keep that Faction awake, his Fear and Jealousie restrain'd him within some bounds of Modesty; but being deliver'd from that Fear by the Death of *Longinus* and his Adherents, he then gave way to his Brutal Passions, and the Spirit of Persecution. *Macedonius*, in spight of all his Promises and Threatnings, stood firm to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and was follow'd in the same Sentiments by the greatest part of the Inhabitants. The Constancy of the Patriarch, and the great Number of his Followers, highly incens'd *Anastasius*; and therefore, when one Day they were assembled in the Theatre to behold the publick Shows, he massacred no less than three thousand of them by the Hands of inhuman Ruffians lodged there in secret for that purpose. This Act of Barbarity, as it render'd him generally hated by his Subjects, so it seem'd to administer to *Symmachus*, Bishop of *Rome*, just Grounds for his Excommunication, which the Bishop readily laid hold upon; for besides the ancient Quarrel of his Predecessors, who refus'd to live in Communion with the

Anastasius *his great Cruelty.*

the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Symmachus* was perſonally injur'd by *Anaſtaſius*, who had by his Agents privately encourag'd and ſupported the Faction that was ſtill maintain'd againſt him, and upon every Opportunity, took care to perplex his Affairs. For theſe Reaſons *Symmachus*, by the Advice of his Council, excommunicated the Emperor; and, as we take it, is the firſt Inſtance of a Pope who ſtrain'd his Authority ſo high, and preſum'd to direct it againſt the Perſon of an Emperor. *Anaſtaſius* being ſenſibly offended at ſo ſignal an Affront, declar'd, by a publick Inſtrument in Writing, That *the Sentence of Excommunication was not, nor ought to be of any Force*; accuſing *Symmachus* at the ſame time of many Crimes, that render'd him unworthy the Dignity he had inſolently uſurp'd. The Pope found himſelf oblig'd to make an Apology, in which he juſtify'd what he had done, and affirm'd, *The Dignity of a Pope was as much above that of an Emperor, as Heaven is higher than the Earth.* This Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor continu'd during the Pontificate of *Symmachus*, and ſome time longer; and in all probability encourag'd *Cabades*, King of *Perſia*, to begin a War upon the Empire.

*Excommunicated by the Pope.*

That Prince, whether he ſtood really in need of Money, or obſerving the ſloathful unactive Temper of *Anaſtaſius*, who, whenever he was preſs'd or threaten'd by a prevailing Enemy, bought his Peace, and often at a very extravagant Rate, ſent to borrow a conſiderable Sum of him, and upon a Refuſal, fell with a great Army into *Armenia*, where he roved up and down with great Licenſe, deſtroying the Country round about, and then laid cloſe Siege to *Amida*; which, tho' the chief Town of *Meſopotamia*, had no Garriſon nor any Proviſions fit for a Defence: However the Inhabitants made a very extraordinary Reſiſtance, and did ſuch Execution

*Amida beſieg'd by the Perſians.*

from

from the Walls, and in their Sallies upon the Enemy, that they much impair'd and diſhearten'd the *Perſian* Army; inſomuch that *Cabades* was once reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege, till the Inſolence of the Townſmen, who revil'd and affronted him from the Walls, provok'd him to perſevere; to which he was encourag'd by the Impudence of ſome common Proſtitutes, who infamouſly expoſed thoſe Parts to his View, which Nature had intended ſhould be moſt conceal'd. Hereupon the *Magi* gave him Aſſurances of an undoubted Succeſs, and that the Inhabitants would e'er long be forc'd to ſhow him all their ſecret and moſt darling Treaſures. Upon theſe Suggeſtions the Siege was continu'd, and ſome Days after, a *Perſian* Soldier by chance diſcover'd an old Vault near one of the Turrets, whoſe Mouth was cover'd with Stones: This he enter'd alone and in the Night, and the next Morning acquainted the King with his Diſcovery; who glad of ſo unexpected an Advantage, took the Turret the Night following, by means of this Vault, and ſhortly after the Town it ſelf, in which he plac'd a *Perſian* Garriſon, and return'd home with a great Number of Priſoners. *Procopius*, in his Relation of this Siege, gives us a ſtrange Account of one *James*, a *Syrian*, who had for many Years led a retired contemplative Life in a Village about a Day's Journey from *Amida*, ſuffering the Extremities of Heat and Cold with a wonderful Patience and Reſignation. Some of the *Perſians*, in their Excurſions, fell accidentally upon his Cottage, and as they prepar'd to ſhoot at him, their Hands were on a ſudden ſo benumm'd, as with Cold, that they were not able to draw their Bows. Upon their return to the Camp, *Cabades* was ſoon inform'd of this extraordinary Adventure, and was reſolv'd to be an Eye-witneſs himſelf of ſuch a Miracle. Immediately upon his Arrival he was con-

Amida *taken.*

convinc'd of the Truth of the Report, and having begg'd Pardon for the Inſolence of his Soldiers, which he eaſily obtain'd, he bid him, by way of Return, to demand ſomething from him, imagining he would have ask'd for a great Sum of Money; but he only deſir'd a Privilege of protecting thoſe, whom the Misfortunes of the War ſhould drive thither for their Security: This *Cabades* readily granted, and left him his Letters ſign'd with the Royal Signet to corroborate his Promiſe.

*Anaſtaſius*, as ſoon as he was inform'd that *Amida* was beſieg'd, rais'd an Army, greater, in *Procopius* his Opinion, than ever had till then been ſent againſt the *Perſians*, and committed it to the Care of *Areobinda*, General of the Eaſt, who had marry'd the Daughter of *Olybrius*, one of the late Weſtern Emperors, and who march'd with all Expedition, having Orders from the Emperor to relieve the Place.

As *Areobinda* drew near to the Town with the Forces under his Command, he underſtood *Amida* was taken, and that the *Perſians*, after they had reinforc'd it with a good Garriſon, and all neceſſary Proviſions, were return'd home. Hereupon the General, being unwilling to loſe his Time in a Siege, in which he expected to be obſtinately oppos'd, drew off, and made an Impreſſion into the Enemies Country, dividing his Army into ſeveral Bodies. Againſt that which he commanded himſelf the King of *Perſia* advanc'd, and ſo terrify'd him with his Approach, that he fled in a great Conſternation to *Conſtantina*, a Town two Days Journey diſtant from his Camp, which he left, with all his Baggage, to the Enemy. Encourag'd by this Advantage, *Cabades* march'd with great Expedition againſt another Party, commanded by *Hypatius* and *Patritius*, who had lately fallen upon eighty Hundred of the *Perſians* that were advanc'd before the reſt

Areobinda *loſeth his Camp.*

reſt of the Army, and kill'd them all upon the ſpot; and not ſuſpecting of any Surprize, were, upon the Preſumption of their Victory, feaſting in great Security. Upon theſe Men the *Perſians* fell with great Fury before they were prepar'd to receive 'em, and did ſo much Execution, that few or none of 'em eſcap'd. Tho' there was a third Body of the *Romans* that remain'd unbroken, and *Cabades* was forc'd to return home to ſecure his Northern Borders againſt the Incurſions of the *Hunns*, yet did they little or nothing againſt the Enemy, but as the Winter drew on, ſate down before *Amida*, and reſolv'd to force it by Famine. Tho' the Beſieg'd in a ſhort time found themſelves under great Straights for want of Proviſion, yet they ſo well conceal'd their Neceſſities, that the *Romans* knew nothing of it; but growing weary of the Service, and imagining the King would in a ſhort time return with his Army, they thought of nothing but raiſing the Siege. The *Perſians* on the other ſide, labour'd under more Difficulties, and as many Apprehenſions as the *Romans*, but made the beſt Show they could, and reſolv'd to make an honourable and handſome Retreat. In Concluſion an Agreement was made, That upon Payment of a conſiderable Sum of Gold the Town ſhould be ſurrender'd; the Money was paid accordingly, and *Amida* deliver'd up to the *Romans*, who were no ſooner receiv'd into the Town, but they grew aſham'd of their own Weakneſs and Impatience; for upon Examination they found the *Barbarians* had not Proviſions ſufficient for ſeven Days remaining, though they had liv'd, during the Siege, with much Abſtemiouſneſs. Upon this the Generals, who began to repent of the Conditions when it was too late, could not forbear reproaching the Soldiers for their Intemperance and Diſobedience, who when they had the Town, and all the *Perſians* that defended it, at their Mercy;

*The* Perſians *defeat another Party of the* Romans.

Amida *reſtor'd to the* Romans. *for Money.*

con-

contrary to the ancient Diſcipline, made a ſhameful Bargain with the Barbarians, and bought their own with the *Roman* Treaſure. After *Amida* was thus ſurrender'd, a Truce was concluded for ſeven Years between *Anaſtaſius* and the King of *Perſia*, who being diſtreſs'd by the *Hunns*, a hardy turbulent People, thought it prudent to live in good Terms with the Emperor.

*A Truce concluded for ſeven Years.*

Whilſt *Anaſtaſius* his Forces were thus employ'd in the Eaſtern War, the *Bulgarians*, his ancient Enemies, had ſeiz'd on *Pannonia*, which *Theodorich* claiming as part of his Dominions, and being the Place of his Nativity, he thought himſelf nearly concern'd to recover it: Accordingly he ſent a ſtrong Army, under the Command of *Petra*, one of his Lieutenants, to reſtrain 'em; and ſucceeded ſo well, that he defeated 'em in a ſet Battel, recover'd *Sirmium* out of their Hands, and drove 'em out of the Country, committing it to the Government of *Coloſſeus*, a *Roman* by Birth, and one of his chief Commanders. In the mean time he himſelf was buſied in cultivating Peace among his neighbouring Princes and Allies.

A. D. 507.

*Theodorich overthrows the Bulgarians.*

*Clovis* was at that time King of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, between whom and *Alaric*, who commanded the Weſtern *Goths* in *Languedoc* and *Aquitain*, with much Reputation for his Juſtice and Clemency, there happen'd a Quarrel, occaſion'd either for that *Clovis* thought himſelf affronted by *Alaric*, who he conceiv'd had concern'd himſelf too much in ſome late Diſputes between the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; or for that, being a *Goth*, he appear'd too zealous an Aſſerter of the *Arian* Hereſie; or rather out of an Ambition of extending his Dominions, a Vice too frequent among Princes. Whatever the Inducements were, *Clovis* prepar'd himſelf very vigorouſly for the War, which *Theodorich* labour'd earneſtly by his Negotiations to prevent.

He not only endeavour'd to perſwade *Alaric*, who was his Son-in-law, to appeaſe if poſſible the King of the *Franks*, and ſo prevent the Danger that threaten'd him, but by his Letters deſir'd all the Princes to mediate an Accommodation between the two Kings; at the ſame time he exhorted *Clovis* by his Ambaſſadors not to begin a War that in all likelihood would prove long, bloody and expenſive, and perhaps end in the Ruin of two brave courageous Nations; and told him in the end, that if he perſiſted in his Reſolutions, and would not remit the Differences between 'em to the deciſion of their Friends, he was reſolved to ſupport *Alaric* with all his Power.

Notwithſtanding all this, as ſoon as his Levies were full he muſter'd his Army, and having paſs'd the *Loire*, begun the War, marching directly towards *Poitiers*, where *Alaric* at that time reſided. The *Goths* choſe rather to hazard a Battel than expect a Siege; ſo that *Alaric* march'd out at the Head of his Army to encounter *Clovis*, who after an obſtinate and bloody Fight, defeated the *Goths*, ſlew the King with his own Hand, and obtained an entire Victory: Immediately after which he diſpatch'd away his Son *Thierry*, with ſome of his Troops, to ſecure *Alby*, *Rovergne*, *Quercy* and *Auvergne*, whilſt he himſelf reduced all the Towns up to *Bourdeaux*; where *Amalric*, the Son of *Alaric*, tho' young and uuexperienced, had Courage enough to run the Hazard of a ſecond Battel, which he loſt, and found himſelf obliged to fly for Refuge to his Grandfather *Theodorich* in *Italy*; who receiv'd him with much tenderneſs, and promiſed to reſtore him, tho' at the Expence of his own Life and Fortune. For he was highly concern'd at the great Progreſs he ſaw *Clovis* make in *Gaul*, and began to apprehend the Danger his own Dominions would be in, from the Neighbourhood of ſo victo-

*The* Goths *defeated in* Gaul *by* Clovis.

victorious a Prince. Tho' no open Acts of Hoſtility had as yet paſs'd between him and *Anaſtaſius*, yet he had great reaſon to look on him as his Enemy, and one who would rejoice to ſee him involved in any Difficulties, that he might more advantageouſly fall upon him. He knew that the Emperor, upon the firſt News of *Clovis* his Succeſs, had ſent an Embaſſy to him, with very rich Preſents, and had enter'd into a ſecret Alliance with him; that the Coaſts of *Italy*, as far as *Tarentum*, had this Year been attacked and waſted by *Romanus*, who had the Command of a Fleet and eight thouſand Men, and return'd with a diſhonourable Booty to *Anaſtaſius*. A. D. 508.

Theſe Conſiderations, together with the Injuries of his Family, made him reſolve to oppoſe *Clovis*. Hereupon he aſſembled all the *Goths* that were in *Italy*, in *Gaul*, in *Spain*, in *Sclavonia* and *Dalmatia*; and having by this means raiſed an Army conſiſting of fourſcore thouſand Men, he committed it to the Charge of *Hibba*, or *Ibbas*, who enter'd *Gaul* about the latter end of *June*, the year following, and reliev'd *Carcaſſon*, which *Clovis* had cloſely beſieg'd for ſome Months, and was earneſtly deſirous to take it, becauſe he was informed there were mighty Treaſures ſtored up in it, which *Alaric* had brought thither from the Pillage of *Rome*. From *Carcaſſon* the *Goths* march'd and rais'd the Siege of *Artes*, took in *Tholouſe*, *Orange* and *Marſeilles*; and having fought *Clovis*, defeated him, and killed at leaſt twenty thouſand of his Men, they recovered to *Amalric* all *Languedoc* and *Gaſcogne*, leaving *Guyenne*, *Saintonge*, *Poitou*, and the Parts adjacent, in the Hands of *Clovis*, whoſe they became in Right of Conqueſt. A. D. 509. Clovis *defeated by* Theodorich's *Forces*.

Nor was *Anaſtaſius* only buſied all this time in ſowing Diviſions among the Weſtern Princes, but in perſecuting the Faithful, and fomenting the Di-

viſions of the Church. *Mecedonius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, had always oppos'd him with an invincible Conſtancy, for which he was perſecuted by the *Eutychians*, who were in greateſt Authority with the Emperor; tho' the People in general had a great Veneration for him, which expos'd him more to the Emperor's Diſpleaſure. About this time, two hundred Heretick Monks, under the Conduct of one *Severus*, came and offer'd their Service to *Anaſtaſius*, who receiv'd 'em very graciouſly, becauſe he knew 'em to be ſworn Enemies to *Macedonius*, and encourag'd 'em ſo far, that ſeveral Orthodox were prevail'd upon to aſſociate themſelves with them: So that the good Prelate had hardly any Aſſiſtance to depend upon, but what lay in the Affections of the Inhabitants, who united in his Defence, declaring publickly in the Streets, That *it was a ſhame for Chriſtians to forſake their Ghoſtly Father in the Days of Perſecution.* By this means the Patriarch found himſelf ſecur'd from any forcible Attempts, and *Anaſtaſius* was oblig'd to double the Guards that attended his Perſon, and prepared for an Eſcape in ſome Veſſels deſign'd for that purpoſe, in caſe the Sedition continu'd; however, he ſtill practis'd ſecretly againſt *Macedonius*, and ſuborn'd ſome Perſons to accuſe him of ſeveral enormous Crimes, of which the good Father acquitted himſelf by undeniable Inſtances; ſo that the Emperor finding it impoſſible to deſtroy him by due Courſe of Law, and that the Citizens had united themſelves in the Defence of his Innocence, he took him by Night forcibly out of his Palace, and ſent him under a Guard of Soldiers into Exile. The People, as ſoon as they underſtood what had been done, grew implacable, eſpecially when they found *Timotheus*, an Heretick, promoted in his Place, a Man ſo remarkable for his ſcandalous diſſolute Life, and withal ſo vile a

A.D. 511.

Hypocrite, that he was univerſally deteſted by all that knew him; he was no ſooner advanc'd, but he began to introduce Novelties in the publick Worſhip, which created ſo great a Sedition in *Conſtantinople*, that no leſs than ten thouſand Perſons are ſaid to have been maſſacred in the Tumult, and ſeveral Houſes burnt; the Emperor and Empreſs being forced to ſhut themſelves up in the Palace, whilſt the People loaded 'em with many Reproaches, declaring they ought to proceed to the Election of another Prince; and they had certainly dethron'd *Anaſtaſius*, had he not ſoften'd 'em by a Submiſſion, and Promiſe to obſerve, for the future, the Council of *Chalcedon*. Notwithſtanding all which, he ſhortly after renew'd the Perſecution againſt the Catholicks, eſpecially the Biſhops, Prieſts and Monks, making uſe of Threats, Promiſes, Preſents and Preferments, to allure 'em to an Abjuration, being incited to it by *Severus*, of whom mention was made before, and who, not long after, was advanc'd to the See of *Antioch*.

*A great Sedition in* Conſtantinople.

Whilſt *Anaſtaſius* thus apply'd his Power to the Ruin of the Church, which he perſecuted with an inexorable Cruelty, without any regard had to the Civil Affairs of the Empire, or Condition of his Army, *Vitalianus*, one of his Generals, revolted, urging the Expulſion of *Macedonius*, and the violent Proceeding againſt the Orthodox, as Reaſons for his Rebellion. With ſuch Forces of Horſe as he was able to raiſe in three Days time he ſeiz'd on *Myſia*, *Scythia* and *Thrace*, having taken *Cyril*, Governor of the Eaſt, Priſoner, and pierc'd almoſt as far as the very Gates of *Conſtantinople*, being follow'd by an Army of *Hunns* and *Bulgarians*, the inveterate Enemies of the Empire. *Anaſtaſius* in this Extremity had recourſe to his uſual Artifices; he pacified *Vitalianus* with an immenſe Sum of Money, and promis'd ſolemnly by his Ambaſſadors,

A. D. 514.

Vitalianus *Revolts.*

to reſtore *Macedonius*, and the other exil'd Prelates, and call a Council in *Heraclea* to put an end to the Differences in Religion. *Vitalianus*, enſnared by the Preſents, and deceiv'd by the Emperor's fair words, drew his Army off from *Conſtantinople*, diſmiſs'd his Troops, and ſent *Hypatius*, whom he had taken Priſoner, back to his Uncle *Anaſtaſius*; tho' *Vitalianus* found afterwards, by Experience, that the Emperor had no other Aim but to deceive him, that he grew as furious a Perſecutor as ever, and with the firſt Opportunity remember'd his Attempts upon him.

During theſe Conteſts *Symmachus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, dy'd, and was ſucceeded by *Hormiſda*, to whom *Anaſtaſius* directed a Letter, acquainting him with his Intentions of ſummoning a Council, and deſiring him to employ his Intereſt to heal the Diviſions of the Church: This Letter was ſeconded by another to the ſame purpoſe, in which the Emperor complained of the Obſtinacy of his Predeceſſors, and, hoping to find him of a more Chriſtian Temper, he beſought him to procure, as much as in him lay, an Union among Chriſtians, and appear in the Council, which was to be celebrated at *Heraclea*. In Anſwer to theſe Letters, the Pope ſent his Deputies to the Emperor, ſufficiently inſtructed how to behave themſelves as well towards the Emperor as *Timotheus* the Patriarch, commanding 'em to conclude upon nothing relating to the Council 'till the following Articles were agreed unto. 1. That the Emperor ſhould by Letters aſſure all the Biſhops, that he received and approved of *Leo*'s Epiſtle to *Flavian*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*; and that the Biſhops ſhould declare each in his own Church, that they likewiſe acknowledg'd both the Epiſtle and Council. 2. That they ſhould all Anathematize *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioſcorus*, *&c.* together with *Acacius*, and all that

adhered to his Communion, and that they ſhould ſubſcribe a Writing to that purpoſe, which he had ſent by *Hilarus* his Notary. 3. That the Cauſe of the depos'd Biſhops ſhould be referred to the cognizance of the Apoſtolick See. As likewiſe, 4. The Cauſe of thoſe Biſhops that had been Promoters of the Perſecution rais'd againſt the Orthodox. We may obſerve that theſe Articles were aim'd chiefly to enhance the Authority of the *Roman* Biſhop, and that by his Inſtructions to his Deputies, he deſign'd to widen the Breach, rather than to compoſe the Diviſions in the Church. The Emperor receiv'd the Legates with much Civility, and told 'em, he was ready to conſent to every thing contain'd in the Articles, except what related to *Acacius*; he made this Exception, becauſe he deſign'd, by ſome popular Act, to recommend himſelf to the People, who he knew were very well affected to the Memory of *Acacius*; and that he might at once thoroughly reconcile himſelf to 'em, he ſettled a great Sum of Gold upon the Church, to the Intent the Prieſts for the future might exact nothing from the People for Burials. By this means he began to recover the Favour of the Inhabitants, and in the mean time he ſooth'd the Legates with plauſible Words, tho' the Event ſhow'd he intended nothing leſs than to be ſincere; for he continued under-hand to favour the Hereticks, ſupporting thoſe with his Favour and Authority that were moſt averſe to the Catholick Chriſtians.

Having by his Artifices work'd himſelf into the good Will of the People, and concluding from thence it was no longer in *Vitalianus* his Power to do him any Miſchief, he diveſted him of thoſe Honours and Employments with which, ſince the Pacification, he had humour'd him, and openly renew'd his Perſecution againſt the Faithful, threatning thoſe with the ſevereſt Puniſhments that ad- A. D. 516.

Anaſtaſius *ſtill a Perſecutor.*

her'd to the Council of *Chalcedon*, or enter'd into Communion with *Hormiſda*; notwithſtanding which, all the Biſhops of *Illyricum* united themſelves to the *Latin* Church; whereupon he ſent for 'em to *Conſtantinople*, and finding 'em conſtant to their Principles, he threw 'em into Priſon, under the Hardſhips of which ſome of 'em languiſh'd a ſhort time, and dy'd.

Theſe his Prevarications re-kindled the People's Indignation againſt him, eſpecially when they beheld him declaring more openly for the *Eutychian* Hereſie than ever; ſo that they broke out into a furious Sedition, which gave occaſion to many Robberies and bloody Murders. During this publick Conſternation, *Anaſtaſius* appear'd in the *Circus* in the Habit of a Suppliant, without his Imperial Ornaments, and declar'd by his Heralds, *He was ready to ſacrifice his private Intereſt to the publick Tranquility, and reſign the Empire to whomſoever they thought worthy of it; but they ought firſt to conſider who was the moſt capable to govern, ſince it was impoſſible all who aſpir'd to it, could enjoy it.* Theſe Words, together with the Tears and ſubmiſſive Behaviour of the aged Emperor, prevail'd ſo effectually upon the People, that they entreated him to re-aſſume the Crown, promiſing him an implicit Obedience for the future. Inſtead of growing better from the ſenſe of that Danger he ſo narrowly eſcap'd, and thoſe terrible Earthquakes which about this time happen'd in *Dardania* and other Places, and ſeem'd to denounce God's heavy Diſpleaſure againſt him, he grew more violent and outrageous; ſuſpecting ſome Conſpiracy to be forming againſt him, he put ſeveral of the Chief Perſons of his Houſhold to Death, eſpecially ſuch as he judg'd to be beſt affected to the Orthodox Religion. *Juſtin* and *Juſtinian*, two of the Principal Man in the Empire, and who ſucceeded him

A. D. 518.

one

one after the other, were in the heat of the Inquiſition ready to be maſſacred; but a Man, with a furious Aſpect, appearing to him in a terrible Viſion the Night before, and forbidding him, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to injure thoſe two Perſons, ſtopp'd his bloody Proceedings. The Writers of thoſe Times relate ſeveral other ſtrange Paſſages preceding the Death of *Anaſtaſius*, as how a Man, with the ſame horrible Aſpect, appear'd to him by Night ſome time after, preſenting him with a Book, in which was calculated how long every Perſon then on the Earth had to live, ſaying to him, with an angry Countenance, *Behold! for the Perverſeneſs of thy Faith, I thus cut off fourteen Years of thy Life*; that when he acquainted his Chamberlain the next Morning with his Dream, he replied, That the very ſame Night he dreamt a Boar devoured him in the Preſence of the Emperor; and when they both acquainted *Proclus*, that excellent Mathematician, with their ſeveral Viſions, and deſir'd him to inform 'em what was intended by 'em, he reply'd, That they ſhould both of 'em in a very ſhort time come to a violent End. This Report will ſeem the more probable, if it be true that *Anaſtaſius* was deſtroy'd by Thunder; tho' we are not to give much Credit to it, when we conſider he was eighty-eight Years old when he dy'd; a wonderful Age for an Emperor, without the Addition of fourteen more to it. The Truth is, Ignorance and Superſtition began now to gain Ground among the People, and ſo prepar'd 'em for an eaſie Reception of any Miracle, or whatever the Artifice of thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs and Intereſt it was to deceive 'em, impos'd upon 'em for ſuch; the Church was undermin'd by Hereſie, divided by Schiſms, and rent aſſunder by Factions and Contentions; this made way for Envy, Pride and Ambition, of which the moſt ſincere were not abſolutely

*Strange Paſſages preceding the Death of* Anaſtaſius.

lutely Innocent, but ſometimes made uſe of the ſame Amuſements to confirm the Truth, that their Adverſaries did to propagate their Errors; whilſt the People, who are generally govern'd more by Paſſion than guided by Reaſon, readily ſwallow'd every thing that was offer'd to 'em. It would be tedious and unneceſſary to inform the Reader by how many Ways, and how many ſeveral Perſons the Death of *Anaſtaſius* is ſaid to have been foretold, all which *Baronius* has taken the Pains to inſert in his Annals, and that upon the Authority of ſuch fabulous Authors, that the Reader may eaſily obſerve how much his Zeal for the Cauſe in which he was embark'd, had blinded his Underſtanding. They add farther, That *Anaſtaſius* having conſulted an Oracle what manner of Death he was to die, was anſwered, He ſhould periſh by Fire; and that, to evade it, *Proclus*, at his Requeſt, had contriv'd an odd ſort of Lodging for him, into which Fire had no Power to enter; that however the Prediction took place, for he was deſtroyed by a Thunder-bolt. Certain it is, he was found dead in his Chamber on the 11th of *July*; and foraſmuch as we learn from no Hiſtorian that any Marks of Fire were obſerved upon him after his Deceaſe, we may impute his End to the Extremities of Age, which frequently produces a ſudden, tho' not a violent Death, without queſtioning the great and juſt Judgments of God, in which he is often terrible, and of which we have the viſible Footſteps in many Reſpects remaining to this Day among us. However, we may obſerve how careful Men, eſpecially ſuch as move in high Spheres, ought to behave themſelves whilſt alive, ſince hardly any thing can be reported of a Diſſolute, Tyrannical Prince after his Death, but what, in a great meaſure, will gain Credit with Poſterity. He dy'd, as was before obſerv'd, after he had liv'd eighty eight Years,

Anaſtaſius *his Death.*

Years, and reign'd upwards of twenty ſeven Years, in the twenty fifth Year of *Theodorich*, King of *Italy*, in the Conſulate of *Magnus* and *Florentius*, *Hormiſda* being then Biſhop of *Rome*, *A. D.* 518.

*Anaſtaſius* was not the firſt Emperor that from a good propitious Beginning degenerated into a voluptuous, arbitrary Prince; many before him begun as well, but few reign'd worſe, eſpecially if we believe the Eccleſiaſtical Writers of the *Roman* Party; who, ſupoſing his Diſobedience to the Apoſtolick See the moſt enormous of all his Crimes, think, after that, they can't repreſent him in Colours black enough: We may grant moſt of what they ſay of him to be true, but ſome Allowance muſt be given to Paſſion and Intereſt. He oblig'd the State with no one good Office, but is anſwerable to the Church for many ill ones. The Sale of publick Offices was ſo common towards the middle of his Reign, and ſo it continu'd to the very end of it, that the Empire by degrees grew into a ſort of Ariſtocracy. He was ſo covetous of Money, that the Provinces were exhauſted by his abominable Exactions, and yet every Motion the Barbarians made againſt him, emptied his Coffers again, not in raiſing Forces to oppoſe 'em, and for the neceſſary Defence and Honour of the Empire, but in bribing 'em to a Forbearance, that he might be the more at leiſure to purſue his Deſigns againſt the Church, in his Enmity to which he exceeded even *Julian* the Apoſtate; ſo that it's no wonder if his own Name, together with that of his Predeceſſor *Zeno*, were eras'd out of the *Dyptichs* after his Deceaſe. *His Character.*

III. *Anaſtaſius* being dead, *Juſtin*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, was declar'd Emperor by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who were ſenſible of his Worth, which made JUSTIN.

made 'em hope the Empire would be reſtor'd to its former Vigour under the Conduct of ſo experienc'd a Commander, and ſome Remedy be found for the diſtracted Condition of the Church. He was by Original a *Thracian* of obſcure Birth, and employ'd in his Youth to look after Cattle; but being at length receiv'd into the Army, he quickly became remarkable for his Valour and conſtant Adherence to the Catholick Faith. From a private Soldier he was made a Tribune, after that *Præfectus Prætorio*, and from thence he was advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity; but by what Means he obtain'd it, is not eaſily determin'd. *Anaſtaſius* had ſeveral Relations living, who were of great Intereſt and Authority in the Empire, and thought themſelves highly injur'd in the unexpected Promotion of *Juſtin*; for which Reaſon they enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt him, but being diſcover'd before they had time to put their Deſigns in Execution, they were put to Death, together with *Amantius* and *Theocritus*. *Amantius* was Great Chamberlain of the Houſhold, a cruel Perſecutor of the Catholick Chriſtians, and in Great Power whilſt *Anaſtaſius* liv'd, through whoſe Favour he heap'd up Wealth enough to have purchas'd the Soldiers Votes for himſelf, had he not been an Eunuch, and conſequently incapable of the Imperial Purple; for which Reaſon *Evagrius* ſaith, he employed all his Wealth and Authority in favour of his Friend *Theocritus*, and for that purpoſe entruſted *Juſtin* to diſtribute his Money among the Guards, to obtain his Election; but *Juſtin* made uſe of the Money to his own Advantage; and having by the Influence of that ſecur'd the Army to his Intereſt, he was accordingly declar'd Emperor. If this Account be true, it's no wonder he took care upon the firſt Provocation to diſpatch 'em out of the way, as ſoon as he had the Power in his Hands: But, upon the whole,

whole, this ill agrees with thoſe Letters ſaid to be written by *Juſtin* to the Pope, immediately after his Advancement, wherein he tells him he was Elected againſt his Will by the Senate and the Army. By what Means ſoever he attain'd the Purple, his firſt Care, after his Election, was to ingratiate himſelf with the People, by removing ſeveral Corruptions that had prevail'd in his Predeceſſor's Reign, and obliging the Inhabitants by ſome peculiar Acts of Grace. His Wife's Name was *Lupicina*, which, becauſe it ſounded ſomething diſagreeably, he chang'd into that of *Euphemia*, a Martyr, whoſe Memory was very dear and much reverenc'd by the People.

*Juſtin very agreeable to the People.*

But above all things, *Juſtin* expreſs'd a great Zeal for the Peace and Welfare of the Church: Some ſhort time after his Advancement, *Timotheus*, the unworthy Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, dy'd, in whoſe Place *John*, ſurnamed the *Cappadocian*, a pious Orthodox Prelate, was, by an univerſal Approbation, Elected. Four Days after his Election he ſummoned a Synod, in which all the Catholick Biſhops were reſtor'd, and the ſound Doctrine and good Diſcipline of the Church carefully eſtabliſh'd, to the great Joy of all the Orthodox Prelates, who following ſo good an Example, ſummon'd Synods in their reſpective Dioceſſes, where the like wholſome Acts were agreed to and eſtabliſh'd. At the ſame time *Juſtin* writ to *Hormiſda*, Biſhop of *Rome*, conjuring him to propoſe ſome means of a Re-union between the Churches of the Eaſt and Weſt; and the Emperor acted ſo vigorouſly in that Affair, that tho' *Hormiſda* expreſs'd much Pride, Obſtinacy and Ambition in the Courſe of it, yet the thing was at laſt effected, to the great Honour and Reputation of *Juſtin*; who, by theſe and many other worthy Actions, gave the People ſuch a general Satisfaction in his Government, that they

they ſoon forgot the ſiniſter Practices, as if they were ſuch by which he obtained the Empire, and the Obſcurity of his Birth.

A. D. 519. Tho' *Juſtin* had, at his firſt Advancement, taken care to remove all ſuch as he thought had been his Competitors, or were willing and able to diſpute his Right, yet he began this Year to apprehend new Diſturbances from *Vitalianus*, of whom mention was made before in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*. *Vitalianus* was by Birth a *Scythian*, and being a Man of great Spirit and Reſolution, had rais'd himſelf to a conſiderable Authority in the State, inſomuch that he had the Courage to aim at the Imperial Dignity it ſelf. During the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, who was the profeſs'd Patron of Hereticks, he eſpous'd the Catholick Cauſe, for no other Reaſon, as *Baronius* will have it, but to render himſelf popular, and oppoſe the Emperor: he ſo far ſucceeded in his Deſigns, that he brought his Maſter to Terms of Compoſition, *Anaſtaſius* being glad to purchaſe his good Will at a very high rate. So ſoon as *Juſtin* was advanc'd to the Empire there follow'd a Turn of Affairs in the Church, whereupon *Vitalianus* quitted his former Intereſt, and revolv'd to the *Eutychians*, as if he thought it a worthy thing ſtill to protect the declining Party. He was at this time in *Thrace*, were he behav'd himſelf more like a Malecontent than one affected to the preſent Government. *Juſtin* was not ignorant of his Practices againſt his Predeceſſor, and found now by his Apoſtacy, that Religion was not the Ground of his Quarrel; he knew him to be a brave experienc'd General, and for that Reaſon, in good Eſteem with the Soldiers; he likewiſe knew him to be arrogant and ambitious, and therefore ready to promote any Innovations: To proceed with open Force againſt him he judg'd dangerous and unſeaſonable, ſo that he conceiv'd the only way to ſuppreſs him was

was to circumvent him; to which Purpoſe he invited him, by an honourable Meſſage, to Court, where he made him Captain of his Guards, and deſign'd him Conſul for the Year enſuing. But as on the one hand the Emperor conferr'd all theſe Favours upon him with no other intent but to deſtroy him, ſo on the other, *Vitalianus* grew more preſumptuous upon his Exaltations; for which Reaſon he was murder'd in the Palace, in the Seventh Month of his Conſulate, by the Order of *Juſtin*. Vitalianus *Slain.*

*Juſtin* having thus eas'd himſelf of his Fears in the Death of *Vitalianus*, met with no Interruptions from the State that were able to divert him from his Inſpection and great Care for the Proſperity of the Church, and the Maintenance of the true Religion, which he expreſs'd in ſeveral Edicts directed for the Suppreſſion of Hereſie, and Puniſhment of obſtinate Hereticks. Out of Reſpect to *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* in *Italy*, he for a long time abſtain'd from moleſting the *Goths*, and moſt of his Proſecutions exempted the *Arians*, who upon that Account became more inſolent, and propagated their Errors with a greater Licenſe; which when the Emperor obſerv'd, and that the Catholick Chriſtians were ſcandaliz'd at his Temporiſing, he at length by a new Edict depriv'd the *Arians* of all their Churches in his Dominions: At the ſame time *Elderic* King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, and Son of *Traſimund* and *Valentinian*'s Daughter, relinquiſh'd the Errors of his Fathers, and embrac'd the Catholick Faith. In this Conjuncture the *Arians* apply'd themſelves to *Theodorich*, who being of the ſame Profeſſion, zealouſly eſpous'd their Cauſe, and therefore writ very preſſing Letters in their Favour to the Emperor; but finding the Emperor to perſiſt ſtill in his Proceedings, and that his Application had not the deſir'd Effect, he reſolv'd to aſſure him, in a ſolemn Embaſſy, that the Catholicks A. D. 524.

licks ſhould meet with the ſame Rigour in the Weſt, which he expreſs'd towards the *Arians* in the Eaſt; and to render his Interceſſion the more efficacious, he made *John*, at that time Biſhop of *Rome*, Chief of the Embaſſy, joining with him in the ſame Commiſſion, Men of the greateſt Quality in the City. *Boetius*, that great Man, who was lately fallen into Diſgrace, notwithſtanding he had deſerv'd more from *Theodorich* than any Subject in his Dominions, and lay at this time in Priſon, gives another Reaſon for this Embaſſy: He ſaith, The *Roman* Senate were accus'd of High-Treaſon againſt the King, who complain'd that the Principal among them had been corrupted by the Emperor, with whom they held ſecret Intelligence, in Prejudice to the Alliance between 'em, and of which theſe Perſons were ſent to complain at *Conſtantinople*. *Boetius* being a Man too converſant with the Tranſactions of thoſe Times to be miſtaken, it's very probable that both the one and the other were the Subject of their Embaſſy. Whatever the Deſign of it was, the *Roman* Writers have taken care to ſignalize it with ſeveral remarkable Miracles: *Gregory* the Great tells us, That when *John* arriv'd at *Corinth*, in his way to *Conſtantinople*, great Enquiry was made after a gentle Horſe for *John* to ride upon, of which when a Nobleman of that City was inform'd, he ſent him one, that for its exceeding Temper was reſerv'd for the Uſe of his Lady; that after *John* had travell'd upon it as far as he at firſt propos'd, he return'd it to the right Owner; but the next time the Lady thought to mount the Beaſt as uſual, ſhe found him proud, and impatient of ſo mean a Burden, after the Honour he had receiv'd in carrying the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*; whereupon the Gentleman ſent it back to the Pope, and deſir'd him to accept of that which was now become of no Uſe to any but himſelf. To this Miracle *Gregory*

*Boetius in Diſgrace with Theodorich.*

*Pretended Miracles.*

*gory* thought fit to add another, and saith, That whilst the Pope was making his publick Entry into *Constantinople*, he restor'd a blind Man to his Sight, by laying his Hand upon his Eyes. These Miracles, as they are absurd in themselves, so is it as absurd to imagine God would so visibly at that time exert his Power in the Person of one who was sent as an Ambassador from an Heretick Prince, in behalf of those who deny'd the very Fundamentals of Christianity. The greatest thing to be wonder'd at, during his Stay at *Constantinople*, was his Pride and Arrogance, which is sufficiently hinted at by such as write of that Embassy; in which he behav'd himself so ill, and displeas'd *Theodorich* to that Degree, that at his Return he was thrown into Prison, where he dy'd not long after. It must indeed be allow'd, that *Theodorich*, being now grown old and jealous, was no more that excellent Prince which for a long time had shin'd with so much Lustre in the West: Hitherto he had govern'd himself and his People with so much Prudence, Valour, Magnificence, Bounty, Justice, Equity, and Moderation, that he worthily deserv'd to be set forth as a Pattern for other Princes; but now the Infirmities of old Age, that encreas'd daily upon him, came attended with the Vices of it too. Some late Affronts put upon him in the Person of his Sister by the *African Vandals*, and the little Power he had to revenge the Injury as he desir'd, together with some Disappointments he met with in his private Affairs, very much discompos'd that Sweetness of Temper, of which 'till now he had been absolute Master. Of this some, who for a long time had been Enemies to the great Merits of *Boetius*, and that excellent Senator *Symmachus*, his Father-in-law, were no sooner sensible, but they misled him to the Ruin of those worthy Persons, whom they accus'd of having conspir'd against the

John, *the Pope, dy'd in Prison.*

Life and Dignity of *Theodorich*, and ſuborn'd Witneſſes to make good the Accuſation; in concluſion, *Theodorich*, whether privy to their Villainy, or perſuaded of their Guilt, commanded 'em both to be Beheaded; which Sentence was executed upon 'em accordingly. But how undeſervedly they both ſuffer'd, will beſt appear by the too late Repentance of *Theodorich*, whoſe Sorrow for their Deaths equal'd, if not exceeded, the Injuſtice of their Puniſhment. A ſhort time after their Execution, the Head of a large Fiſh was ſerv'd up to Table, whilſt he was at Supper; this Head, which was of an unuſual bigneſs, *Theodorich* fancied to be that of *Symmachus*, upbraiding him as it were with a threatning ghaſtly Countenance for his Cruelty againſt him. The Sight of it wrought ſo much upon his Imagination, that he was immediately ſeiz'd with Horror and Amazement, and carry'd from the Table into his Chamber, where he was ſeiz'd by a violent Fever, of which he dy'd in a few Days, after he had liv'd ſeventy two Years, and reign'd ſomething more than thirty three.

A. D. 526.

*Boetius and Symmachus put to death.*

*Theodorich dies.*

*His Character.*

He may be ſaid to have been almoſt the only Perſon who obtain'd a Kingdom by Force and Violence that knew how to preſerve it with Calmneſs and Sweetneſs, which eminently appear'd in all his Actions and Councils; and *Italy*, contrary to the Fate which uſually attends conquer'd Kingdoms, enjoy'd as much Serenity, Peace, Pleaſure, and Security under his Government, as ever ſhe did in the Height of her Greatneſs and Authority. This his prudent, paternal Adminiſtration, as it made him belov'd at home, ſo it render'd him terrible to his Enemies; it being certain, a Prince's Strength does not ſo much conſiſt in Foreign Treaties and Alliances, as the Love and Affections of his Subjects, which upon all Occaſions *Theodorich* took care to cultivate. It has been uſually obſerv'd, that no People are ſo tyrannical, uncharitable and

inhuman as Hereticks, when once they have the Power in their Hands; but this Unchriſtian Temper was what *Theodorich*, though an *Arian*, was totally a Stranger to; for he ſhow'd himſelf a common Father to all his Subjects, and extended his Protection to all Parties with an equal Indulgence. *Rome* it ſelf was much oblig'd to him for his Bounty towards her, in repairing her Walls, ſupplying her with ſeveral convenient Fountains, and beautifying her with many magnificent Buildings; and the State in general ow'd no leſs to him for the many wholſome Laws with which he ſtrengthen'd and enrich'd it. In a Word, ſetting aſide his Hereſie, with which from his Birth he had been infected, and ſo, in ſome meaſure, may be imputed rather to the Force of his Education than the Perverſeneſs of his Mind, and except his laſt Acts of Cruelty, to excuſe which he may plead the Weakneſs and Infirmities of old Age, he may be juſtly reckon'd one of the moſt excellent and accompliſh'd Princes that 'till then had appear'd in the World.

*Theodorich*, ſome time before his Death, ſummon'd the Chief of his Nobility to attend him at Court, where he declar'd *Athalaric*, his Grandſon by his Daughter *Amalaſont*, his Succeſſor, deſiring them to ratifie his Choice, to be dutiful to the young Prince, to be affectionate to the Senate and People of *Rome*, and court the good Will and Friendſhip of the Emperor; to all which Particulars he made 'em take a ſolemn Oath.

*Athalaric*, at his Grandfather's Death, was no more than eight Years of Age, for which reaſon his Mother *Amalaſont* was declar'd Regent of the Realm, a Truſt, of which no Perſon living was more worthy than her ſelf. She was a Princeſs Beautiful and Majeſtick, well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and knew well how to inſinuate her ſelf into the Affections of the People, be- Athalaric *ſucceeds him.*

ing Miſtreſs of a Prudence and Courage greater than what is uſually found in the moſt extraordinary of her Sex. From the Moment ſhe undertook the Adminiſtration, ſhe govern'd with ſo much Juſtice and Sagacity, that *Italy* promis'd it ſelf all manner of Happineſs under her propitious Conduct. She reſtor'd to the Children of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* all their Father's Inheritance, and made the beſt Amends ſhe could for the Injuſtice her Father had done 'em. She confirm'd a Peace with *Amalric*, King of the Weſtern *Goths* in *Spain*, who, being her Siſter's Son, had ſucceeded his Father *Alaric* after his Defeat by *Clovis*, and reſtor'd to him all that Tract of Land that lies between the *Rhone* and the *Alps*, committing it to the Government of *Patricius Liberius*. On the other hand, ſhe reſign'd up to the King of *France* ſuch Countries as had been conteſted between them and her Father, and by that means depriv'd 'em of the leaſt Pretence for a Quarrel; but, above all, ſhe was ſollicitous for the Education of her Son, well knowing that upon that depended his own Honour and Welfare, as well as the Proſperity of his People. How ſhe ſucceeded in this her pious Care, and what Difficulties ſhe met with in the Adminiſtration, we ſhall find hereafter in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, when the Diviſions among the *Goths* call'd for his Arms into *Italy*.

In the mean time we are to return back to *Juſtin*, whom we find wholly employ'd in Affairs relating to the State of the Church, 'till ſome Overtures from *Perſia* ſuſpended his Application. About this time *Cabades*, King of *Perſia*, was grown old and infirm, and much perplex'd about the Succeſſion, which he was afraid would create ſuch Diſputes after his Deceaſe, as would prove very prejudicial to his Family. With his eldeſt Son, who had a Legal Claim, he was offended beyond

a Reconciliation; his ſecond Son, call'd *Zances*, having loſt one of his Eyes, was, according to the Conſtitutions of the Country, incapable of Reigning; but being an active valiant Prince, an experienc'd Soldier, and withal, a very virtuous Perſon, he was afraid leſt the Favour of the People ſhould encourage him to attempt any thing againſt *Choſroes*, who was his third Son, the beſt belov'd, and to whom he was very deſirous to ſecure the Succeſſion. He thought, if ſome way could be found to engage the Emperor *Juſtin* to his Intereſt, his Deſires would be the more eaſily effected. Whereupon he ſent his Ambaſſadors to him, and in his Letters reminded him of *the Injuries the* Perſians *had received at ſeveral times from the* Romans, *for which, however, he declin'd to demand any Reparation, becauſe he was earneſtly deſirous an inviolable and perpetual Peace might be eſtabliſh'd between the two Nations; as a Pledge whereof, and of their future Friendſhip, he wiſh'd the Emperor would adopt his Son* Choſroes, *whom he deſigned for his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, and who, by vertue of ſo near a Relation to the* Roman *Emperor, would be the better able to ſupport his Pretenſion.* This Propoſal, at firſt, was readily embraced by *Juſtin*, and all the Chief Miniſters, except *Proclus*, the Great Treaſurer of the Empire, who repreſented to the Emperor *the Danger of ſuch Novelties; what Deſign* Cabades *might poſſibly have in his Requeſt; that to deſire* Juſtin *to adopt* Choſroes *for his Son, was, in effect, to deſire he might be declared Heir to the* Roman *Empire; that a Peace with the* Perſians *was highly requiſite, and that Ambaſſadors ought to be diſpatch'd with all Diligence to negotiate it, with Orders to decline all Motions relating to the Adoption.* Accordingly, Ambaſſadors from both Princes met upon the Frontiers, but return'd home more diſſatisfied than ever, ſo that the War ſeem'd unavoidable.

voidable. *Cabades* was at the preſent diverted from expreſſing his Reſentments, as he thought it became him; tho' in this Emperor's time there were on one ſide and the other ſome Encounters and Incurſions, the Preludes of a War, which broke out with greater Violence in the Reign of *Juſtinian*.

After this we meet with no conſiderable Tranſactions during the Reign of *Juſtin*, who from his firſt Advancement was chiefly buſied in Matters relating to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and indeed the Monks of thoſe Times began to grow ſo troubleſome, and invented ſo many new *Chimera's* in Religious Matters, the pure Effects of Ignorance or Idleneſs, that it was a very difficult matter to keep 'em within the Bounds of Decency and Order; notwithſtanding which, the Church flouriſh'd exceedingly in his Days; for the Orthodox Faith was not only re-eſtabliſh'd in *Africk*, but the Pale of the Church was enlarg'd by the Converſion of the *Lazians* to Chriſtianity, which the whole Nation embrac'd at once, after the Example of *Zathus* their Prince, who, coming to *Conſtantinople*, was Baptiz'd by the Patriarch, gratify'd with many Preſents, honour'd with a Royal Crown, and marry'd to a Lady of one of the beſt Families in the Empire. At this, *Cabades* the King of *Perſia* was highly offended, and complain'd, *For that* Juſtin *had enter'd into an Alliance with a Nation, that being his Tributaries, were broken out into open Hoſtilities and Rebellion againſt him.* The Emperor reply'd in his own Juſtification, *That his Tranſactions with them had no relation to their Temporal Intereſt and Engagements, but their Spiritual; that he was oblig'd by his Profeſſion and Dignity to encourage and aſſiſt them in their Converſion, upon which the Salvation of ſo many Souls depended.* With this Anſwer *Cabades* was ſatisfy'd for the preſent, though he objected it afterwards to the Emperor, when

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the Adoption we before mention'd was in Agitation.

Some time before the Death of this Emperor, so terrible an Earthquake happen'd at *Antioch*, which was attended by as dreadful a Fire, that the greatest part of that beautiful and capacious City was bury'd in Ruins. At the same time the Cities of *Dyrrachium*, *Corinth*, *Anazarbo* in *Cilicia*, and *Edessa*, were almost destroy'd by Earthquakes. The Monks, who never fail to abuse the Judgments as well as Mercies of God (which in themselves are often wonderfully stupendous) with some pretended Miracles, have not been wanting, upon this Occasion, to insert some in their Legends, as egregiously ridiculous, as they are abominably false: but the Emperor *Justin* made a better use of it; for as soon as he heard of the miserable Condition *Antioch* was in, he pulled off his Imperial Ornaments, and by all the Actions of a Christian Humiliation, study'd to appease the Divine Wrath. This same Year the *Lombards*, a Northern Nation, left their Dwellings, and enter'd *Hungary*, where having expell'd the *Ostrogoths*, they continu'd two and forty Years, and then erected a Kingdom in *Italy*, where, in the Course of our History, we shall find 'em. A. D. 526. *A terrible Earthquake at Antioch.*

*Justin*, finding himself broken with Age, and unable to live much longer, like a most prudent virtuous Prince, summon'd the Senate together, to consult with them about the Choice of a Successor, having himself no Children to succeed him; by whose united Advice and Consent, *Justinian*, his Sister's Son, about forty five Years of Age, was declar'd *Cæsar*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the People; and some time after, *Justin* perceiving his End to be near at hand, he put the Imperial Crown upon *Justinian*'s Head, in the Presence of the Patriarch and the Grandees of the JUSTINIAN.

Empire, after which he was Crown'd publickly in the Theatre, and his Wife *Theodora* proclaim'd *Auguſta*; ſo that from this time forward, 'till the Death of *Juſtin*, which happen'd ſhortly after, he reign'd jointly with him: Tho' *Juſtin* was ſeventy ſeven Years old when he dy'd, yet an old Wound he had formerly receiv'd in his Thigh, is ſaid to have been the Occaſion of his Death, after he had reign'd nine Years and two or three Months, in the ſingle Conſulate of *Mavortius*, *A. D.* 527. for the Dignity, as well as Power of Conſul, began now to decline, and to be little regarded, which ſhow'd the Expiration of it to be at hand.

*Juſtin dies.*

Thus have we ſeen *Juſtin*, a Man of obſcure Parentage, ſimple and unlearned, hold the Reins of the Empire with more Honour, and leave it with greater Reputation than many of his Predeceſſors, who by Birth, Fortune and Education, ſeem'd deſtin'd for the Sovereignty. He is ſaid to have been ſo very illiterate, that he could neither Write nor Read, a thing the *Romans* never met with in any of the Emperors before, ſo that he was forced to make uſe of a peculiar Mark or Stamp in the Authoriſing any Imperial Edicts, or publick Ordinances, and yet he was as Juſt, Prudent, Temperate and Sagacious, as the moſt knowing among the Philoſophers; ſo that he ſeem'd endow'd by Nature with thoſe Beauties of Mind which others had acquir'd by Art. If we add to all this his great Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion, and his continu'd Labours for the Peace and Proſperity of the Church, we muſt, upon the whole, allow him to have been a Prince that in many things deſerv'd to be imitated, in few or none to be reprehended.

*His Character.*

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

## *From the Advancement of* Justinian *the Great, to the Death of that Prince.*

### *Containing the Space of* 38 *Years.*

I. WE are now entering upon a Reign long and active, in which the *Roman* Genius seem'd once more to exalt her venerable Head, and, like the returning Spring, inspir'd with fresh Vigour the aged Body of the Empire; those Provinces which the Miscarriages of former Reigns, and the successful Arms of the Barbarians had torn from her, she again claim'd by Right of Inheritance, and gave the World a lively Idea of her former Majesty. A. D. 527.

*Justinian* being a Prince of great Designs, and ambitious of securing as much of the Empire as had been left him by his Ancestors, and recovering what had been lost by his Predecessors, took, at his first Establishment, the best Method to obtain his Desire; for, knowing all his Endeavours would be ineffectual without the Divine Assistance, he prepar'd himself for it by such Works of Christian Piety and Charity, as he thought most likely to draw down the Blessing of God upon his Designs, which tended all to the Prosperity of the Church, and restoring the *Roman* Empire to its ancient Splendor and Authority.

His first Care was to preserve his Dominions from the Insults and Incursions of the Barbarians; to which purpose *Belisarius*, his General, a Person that is to make a noble Figure in the succeeding Course of this History, had Orders to build a *The beginning of the first* Persian *War.*

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Fort at *Mindon*, a Place ſeated on the Frontiers near *Niſibis*; who ſo vigorouſly purſu'd his Inſtructions, that the Work was conſiderably advanc'd when the *Perſians*, who were much offended at it, commanded him, with many Menaces, to deſiſt; and finding he ſtill proceeded to execute the Emperor's Orders, they rais'd an Army and demoliſh'd the Building, notwithſtanding the Aſſiſtance *Juſtinian* had ſent to ſupport him. This Action, together with ſome other Provocations the *Perſians* pretended to have receiv'd in the former Reign, gave a Beginning to that War, which was afterwards carry'd on with much Violence between the two Crowns.

*Cabades*, of whom frequent mention has been made already, was at this time King of *Perſia*; but, after a Reign of near thirty Years, was grown very infirm and unfit for Publick Buſineſs, yet he was by Nature Warlike and Ambitious: He had from his Youth encounter'd with many Difficulties, and overcame 'em all by his Courage and Dexterity: he was afraid of the Factions with which he imagin'd his Kingdom would be diſtracted at his Death; and when he beheld a Prince vigilant and ſagacious, as *Juſtinian* appear'd to be, upon the Imperial Throne, his Apprehenſions were encreas'd. Since therefore he had fail'd by Treaties to perſuade the *Romans* to liſten to ſuch Terms as he deſir'd, he was reſolv'd, if poſſible, to gain his Ends by a War, which for that reaſon he intended to begin, but was prevented by *Juſtinian*, who, beſides the Affront he had receiv'd in his General, for which he requir'd Reparation, demanded ſeveral Places belonging of Right to him, but at that time in the Hands of the *Perſians*: upon Refuſal he declar'd War againſt him, and ſent a ſtrong Army into *Meſopotamia* under the Command of *Beliſarius*, who was made General of the Eaſt. *Beliſarius* met the *Perſians* under the Con-

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duct of *Myrrhanes*, near *Daras*, where he engag'd with him, and defeated him. This was the firſt Victory the *Romans* had for many Years obtain'd againſt the *Perſians*, who fought with much Obſtinacy, and, in all probability, had defeated the *Romans*, whom they almoſt doubled in Number, had not a Reſerve of the *Heruli* advanc'd ſeaſonably to their Aſſiſtance. The *Romans* kill'd above five thouſand of the Enemy, and might perhaps have done more Execution, had not the General prudently ſounded a Retreat, leſt the *Perſians* ſhould rally upon 'em, and make their Advantage of a diſorderly Purſuit.

*The* Perſians *defeated.*

This Victory, which crown'd the Arms of *Juſtinian* in *Meſopotamia*, was ſeconded by another in *Armenia*, whither *Cabades* had ſent another Army under the Conduct of *Mermeroes*, who was ſurpriz'd by *Cittas*, General of the *Roman* Forces, who kill'd a great number of his Men, and rifled his Camp; and having in a ſecond Engagement routed 'em, and forc'd 'em to march in a diſorderly manner home, he took in ſeveral Towns in *Perſarmenia*, together with the two Forts of *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, which had the Command of the Royal Mines.

*The* Perſians *and* Saracens *at once Invade the* Roman *Empire.*

Theſe Advantages on the part of the *Romans*, made way for a Treaty, which being ineffectual, the *Perſians* early in the Spring invaded the *Roman* Territories, being accompany'd by *Alamundarus*, King of the *Saracens*, who brought a conſiderable Body of his Subjects to the Aſſiſtance of the *Perſians*. *Alamundarus* was an old experienc'd Soldier; having for the ſpace of fifty Years together been at Enmity with the *Romans*, he knew better than any the manner of their Diſcipline as well in the Camp as the Field, and where, and in what manner to attack 'em with the beſt Advantage: 'twas he encourag'd *Cabades* to this Expedition, and adviſ'd him to break into the *Roman* Territories,

not

not as they uſually did by the way of *Oſroene*, but to pierce directy into *Syria*, where they would meet with no fortified Town, nor any conſiderable Forces to reſiſt 'em; and that conſequently *Antioch*, the Capital of the Eaſt, in which there was no Garriſon, and the Inhabitants whereof were taken up in Feſtivals and wanton Diverſions, muſt of neceſſity fall into their Hands, which they might rifle, and carry off all the Wealth of the Place, before the Army in *Meſopotamia* could move to relieve it.

A. D. 530. With this Aſſiſtance, and theſe Inſtructions, the Army began to march; but before they were enter'd into *Syria*, *Beliſarius*, who was inform'd of their Deſign, having left convenient Garriſons for the Defence of *Meſopotamia*, was ready upon the Frontiers to diſpute their Paſſage. This unexpected Expedition in the *Roman* General, very much ſurpriz'd and perplex'd the *Perſians*, who, 'till now, had thought of nothing elſe than the Pillage of *Antioch*. They thought it dangerous and unſeaſonable to hazard a Battel, and therefore prepar'd for an orderly Retreat. On the other ſide, *Beliſarius*, concluded he had done his Part in preſerving the Country, and that it was imprudent to provoke a flying Enemy, much ſtronger than himſelf. But his Men were of another Opinion; they upbraided thir General, as *if he denied them the Honour of a Victory, and choſe rather to prolong the War by his cautious Proceedings, that ſavour'd of Cowardice, than put an end to it by ſuffering them to lay hold of an Advantage, Fortune had thrown into their Hands.* His Army conſiſted of ſome *Veteran* Troops, whom their late Succeſſes had made raſh and deſperate, and ſuch Recruits of the *Iſauri* and *Lycaonians* as he could levy in his March, who being for the moſt part taken from the Plow, knew not what a Battel meant, and yet were the

moſt

moſt forward for an Engagement. *Beliſarius*, inſtead of puniſhing 'em as they deſerv'd, ſubmitted to Neceſſity, and led 'em on againſt the Enemy. The *Perſians*, ſeeing it would unavoidably come to a general Engagement, turn'd Head, and drawing themſelves up into Battel, ſtood ready to receive 'em. The Diſpute was obſtinate on both Sides, and the Fortune of the Day for a long time contiu'd very doubtful, till at laſt a Body of the moſt reſolute among the *Perſians* charg'd the Right Wing of the *Roman* Army, where *Arethas* commanded ſome mercenary *Saracens*, who at the Onſet fled, perhaps with a Deſign, reſolv'd upon before, to betray *Beliſarius*. The *Roman* Horſe being by this time weary, weaken'd and diſhearten'd, quitted the Field, whilſt *Beliſarius* with a few, that were aſham'd to forſake him, defended himſelf with ſo much Courage and Succeſs, that the *Perſian* Cavalry, finding it impoſſible to break in upon him, returned towards Night with the reſt of their Army to the Camp. The next Day, when they came to plunder the Field, and compute the Numbers that were loſt on both Sides, they found they had no great reaſon to boaſt of the Victory: And the King himſelf was aſham'd of the Enterprize, when he ſaw his General return with a broken inglorious Army, that had neither taken *Antioch*, nor any other Place that could anſwer his Expectation, or the Expence of the Expedition.

*The Romans fighting contrary to the Opinion of their General, are overthrown.*

Tho' the Loſs the *Romans* receiv'd was not very conſiderable, yet *Juſtinian*, who began now to caſt his Eyes upon the *Vandals* in *Africk*, ſent his Ambaſſadors into *Perſia* to treat of a Peace, but at the ſame time prepar'd vigorouſly for the War; and the better to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, enter'd into an Alliance with the *Æthiopians*, *Homerites* and *Nabatheans*, who promis'd his Ambaſſadors mighty things, but perform'd nothing.

Nor

Nor had his Negociations in *Persia* any better Success; for *Cabades*, being enrag'd at the late Losses he had receiv'd, would give ear to no Offers of Accommodation; so that with a fresh Army, under the Command of new Generals, the *Persians* once more enter'd into *Mesopotamia*, where meeting with no Forces strong enough to oppose 'em, they went and laid Seige to *Martyropolis*, a City about thirty Miles North of *Amida*, situate upon the River *Nymphius*, that parted the *Roman* Dominions from those of *Persia*. The Town wanted all manner of Provision, and was in no way prepar'd for a Siege: *Belisarius* was sent for home to command the Emperor's Forces in *Africk*; and *Sittas*, who succeeded him in the Government of the East, had not Strength sufficient to relieve it. At the same time *Cabades* had hir'd the *Massagetes* to advance into *Persia*, and from thence invade the *Roman* Territories. Of this the Emperor being inform'd by a *Persian* Spy, in whom he had great reason to confide, he perswaded him to go and report to the Army lying before *Martyropolis*, that these *Massagetes* were in the Emperor's Pay, and that they were moving with a great Body of Men to raise the Siege. The *Persians*, who believ'd all the Spy reported, were in great doubt what Measures to take; when in the mean time News was brought that *Cabades* was dead, which put an end to their Consultations; for being ignorant in what Condition the Affairs of their own Country stood, and being apprehensive of the *Massagetes*, who, as they thought, were marching against them, they listen'd to *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, who press'd 'em to a Cessation of Arms, which shortly after was follow'd by a Conclusion of the Peace. For tho' *Chosores* was ordain'd Successor by his Father's last Will, and declar'd such by the great Officers of the Kingdom, yet he knew not how the People stood affected to his

*Martyropolis besieg'd by the Persians.*

A. D. 531.

*The Siege rais'd.*

his elder Brother, who had the juster Title, and therefore thought it prudent to secure all at home, before he engag'd himself in any Wars with his Neighbours.

Some time before the Confirmation of this Peace, such a Mutiny happen'd at *Constantinople*, as, perhaps, has not been equal'd in any Age before or since, if consider'd either in its Beginning, its Progress, or Conclusion. Tho' *Marcellinus*, and some others with him, say it was first rais'd by *Hypatius*, *Pompeius* and *Probus*, Nephews to the late Emperor *Anastasius*; yet *Procopius* traces it a little higher, and in his Account of it, gives us a terrible Idea of an enrag'd head-strong Multitude. *A great Mutiny at Constantinople.*

As in most other Cities at that time, so especially in *Constantinople*, it was customary with the Citizens to divide themselves into several Factions, in favour of the several Charioteers that ran the Races in the *Circus*; and these Factions were denoted by some peculiar Colour, by which they each distinguish'd themselves from the rest. This Custom was of an ancient standing in *Rome*, where the Contests in behalf of the contending Parties proceeded often so high, that much Blood has been shed upon that account, the Emperors themselves frequently espousing this or that Side. Of these Factions there was no less than four in number, the *Prasina* or *Green*, the *Russata* or *Russet*, the *Albata* or *White*, and the *Veneta* or *Blue*, tho' the *Green* and *Blue* grew at length to be the most popular. It is not to be imagin'd with what Zeal the People embrac'd these Factions, the very Women themselves engaging in the Disputes, and the Men wasting their Estates in the Support of their respective Party.

It happen'd at this time that the Officers of Justice were leading some of these Antagonists out to Execution; whereupon both Parties, tho' at other times irreconcilable, united in great numbers, with

a Deſign at firſt only to reſcue the Malefactors, but proceeding with an irreſiſtable Fury, they firſt broke open all the Priſons in the City, and then kill'd the Officers of Juſtice. Thoſe who were of neither Faction, amaz'd at ſo ſudden an Uproar, fled over into the oppoſite Continent, abandoning the City as to an enrag'd Enemy, whilſt the Mutineers ſet Fire to it in every Quarter. The Emperor, from the firſt Beginning of the Tumult had ſhut himſelf up in the Palace, together with the Empreſs and ſome of the Senate, among whom were *John* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Trebonian* the Treaſurer. Theſe two had render'd themſelves extreamly odious to the People by their Avarice and Oppreſſion, whom therefore the Emperor diſmiſs'd from their Employments, hoping to appeaſe the Tumult by ſo ſeaſonable a piece of Juſtice. But tho' they rail'd openly againſt 'em in the Beginning of the Mutiny, and ſeem'd to aim at nothing but their Deſtruction, yet now they would not be ſatisfy'd with ſo mean a Sacrifice, but threaten'd a thorough Alteration of that Government. *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* were among the Senators that were ſhut up with the Emperor in the Palace, but, contrary to their earneſt and repeated Deſires, had Orders from him to retire to their own Houſes: They told him they were afraid the People, in that general Confuſion, would force them to accept of the Empire, to prevent which it would be ſafer for 'em to continue in his Preſence, proteſting at the ſame time they were ready to defend his Perſon at the certain Hazard of their own Lives. The Emperor, who thought he had juſt Reaſon to diſtruſt 'em, was deaf to all they could offer, and ſo without any farther Conſideration, drove 'em out of the Palace; but how much his Fears at that time were too ſtrong for his Reaſon, evidently appeared from what follow'd; for the Multitude ran the next

Morning

Morning to *Hypatius*, and ſaluting him Emperor, conducted him to the *Forum*, there to inveſt him with the Government, whilſt his Wife *Maria*, a ſober diſcreet Lady, hung upon him, proteſting they were leading him forth to Deſtruction, nor would ſhe be perſuaded to quit him 'till they forc'd him from her. Whilſt the Mutineers were buſied in this tumultuous Solemnity, the Emperor was conſulting whether he had beſt ſtay or make his Eſcape by Sea, for all the Senators that were not with him in the Palace had now join'd with the Multitude, who by this time threaten'd to pull him out of the Palace. Whilſt they were deliberating what was beſt to be done in ſo great an Extremity, *Theodora*, with a Maſculine Courage, perſuaded him to ſtem the Tide, concluding all with that only Saying, *How brave a Sepulchre is a Kingdom?* Hereupon they conſider'd how they might beſt defend themſelves. The Soldiers that then lay quarter'd in the Town declar'd neither for the Emperor nor the Mutineers, but waited to ſee the Event; all the Emperor's Hopes were in *Beliſarius*, who being lately recall'd from the *Perſian* War, came timely to his Aſſiſtance, with a good Body of Forces under his Command; at the ſame time *Mundus*, having been ſent for out of *Illyricum*, where he commanded as General for the Emperor, arriv'd with a Troop of the *Heruli*: With theſe Forces the two Captains quickly quell'd the Tumult, *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* were Beheaded, and *John* and *Trebonian* reſtor'd to their former Dignities. This Inſurrection, call'd *Nica*, being the Word the Mutineers gave, continu'd for ſeveral Days together, during which there were near thirty thouſand Perſons murder'd, many publick Buildings as well as private Edifices burnt, and had not the Hand of God viſibly interpos'd, it is not to be doubted but the whole City had been laid in Ruins; ſo

*Quell'd by* Beliſarius.

much was he in the right, who compar'd the Fury of the People to the Raging of the Sea.

*The Reasons of the War in Africk.*

This Tumult being thus appeas'd, and a Peace concluded with *Persia*, *Justinian* began to apply himself in good earnest to the War in *Africk*. *Hilderick*, King of the *Vandals*, was now in the seventh Year of his Reign; he was a Prince of a mild and gentle Disposition, and withal a great Friend to the Church, encouraging, upon all Occasions, the Catholick Christians: He had been lately worsted in some Engagement with the *Moors*, which made him the less respected by his *Vandals*. Having no Children of his own, *Gelimer*, a near Relation, being the next in Years, was, according to the Constitution of that Country, to succeed him in the Kingdom. This *Gelimer* was a warlike, valiant, and sagacious Prince, but withal he was haughty and ambitious: *Hilderick* had resign'd up to him the absolute Management of Affairs, but he was impatient to govern in his own Right, and could no longer endure to be the Substitute of another; hereupon he rais'd a Party against him, and accus'd him to the *Vandals*, *as an unactive effeminate Prince, and one who endeavour'd to betray the State to the Emperor, and to take from him the Right of Succession*: For these Reasons he persuaded 'em to depose him, and told 'em, *The State would never be secure 'till they had done so.* To this, after a short Deliberation, the *Vandals* consented; so the unfortunate Prince was shut up in a Prison with his two Brothers, *Amer* and *Evagenes*, and *Gelimer* declar'd King in his stead.

Upon this, *Justinian* sent his Ambassadors into *Africk*, who, according to their Instructions, represented to *Gelimer* the Heinousness of the Crime, and exhorted him *patiently to wait for a Succession, to which he had so just a Title, and not chuse to be a Tyrant rather than a lawful Prince.* *Gelimer* dismiss'd

diſmiſs'd the Ambaſſadors without any Satisfaction, pull'd out *Amer*'s Eyes, and put *Hilderick* and *Evagenes* under a more ſevere Confinement. This oblig'd *Juſtinian* to ſend him a ſecond Embaſſy, in which he was more urgent than the former, deſiring him, in concluſion, *to ſend* Hilderick *and his Brothers to* Conſtantinople; *threatning to Treat with him as with an Enemy, if he refus'd it.* To this *Gelimer* return'd Anſwer, *That he had neither forcibly ſeiz'd upon the Kingdom, nor ſtain'd his Hands in Blood; that the* Vandals *had depos'd* Hilderick *for his Practices againſt the Houſe of* Genſerich; *that he claim'd the Kingdom by Right of Elderſhip, and would defend it to the utmoſt; as he ſhould find, if, in breach of the Oath ſworn by* Zeno, *he preſum'd to invade it.* Theſe Tranſactions happen'd whilſt *Juſtinian* was engag'd in the *Perſian* War, which made him more deſirous of a Peace with *Cabades*, as thinking a more Honourable Cauſe call'd for his Arms into *Africk*. Having therefore concluded a Peace with *Choſroes*, he muſter'd ten thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, and appointed five hundred Veſſels for their Tranſportation.

As a neceſſary Introduction to ſo great an Undertaking, *Juſtinian* publiſh'd ſeveral Laws againſt Hereticks, eſpecially the *Neſtorians*, repair'd ſuch Churches as wanted it, and gave Order for the Building ſeveral new ones. He ſuffer'd no Perſon whatſoever to be entertain'd in his Army that was not a Chriſtian; and when the Fleet was ready to ſet Sail, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* gave it his Benediction, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. *Beliſarius*, who was attended by his Wife in the Expedition, took care to have an exact Diſcipline obſerv'd on Board, and put two *Maſſagetes* to Death for murdering a Man that laugh'd at 'em when they were Drunk. Having weigh'd Anchor, he A. D. 533.

arriv'd upon the *Sicilian* Coasts, about the latter end of *August*, but had suffer'd much in his Passage, through the Avarice of *John* the *Cappadocian*, who supply'd the Army with such unwholsome Provisions, that a great Number of the Soldiers dy'd at *Methone*, whilst they lay there Wind-bound. He staid upon these Coasts 'till he could get such Intelligence as was necessary for his future Conduct, then proceeding on his Voyage, he landed at a Place call'd *Caputuada*, about five Days Journey from *Carthage*. It was a barren sandy Soil, without any Water, of which the Army stood very much in need, for what they had a-board stunk, and was corrupted; but, as they were digging their Entrenchments, the Labourers discover'd a Spring, which prov'd a seasonable Relief, and supply'd both Men and Beasts with wholsome fresh Water, a thing never heard of before in that dry Tract of *Byzacium*, which made *Belisarius* consider it as a Pledge of his future Success. From *Caputuada* he design'd to march directly for *Carthage*, from whence he understood *Gelimer* was remov'd, after he had put *Hilderick*, and several others that were in Prison with him, to Death. The General's chief Care was to establish such good Order among his Troops, that the Country might not suffer in their March, but that they might pay for whatever they had, as justly as if they were in their own Country, behaving themselves with an equal regard to the *Africans*, as if they had been *Romans*; this made the Imperial Army be supply'd by the Country in great abundance, and drew several of the Natives into their Party. The Governor of *Tripolis* had from the very first declar'd for the Emperor, and the Orthodox Christians, who for a long time had been oppress'd by the *Arian Vandals*, fled to the *Romans* as to their Deliverers. The Army, under the Command of *Belisarius*,

Belisarius *lands with the Army in* Africk.

*liſarius*, arriv'd at *Carthage* on the twenty fifth of *September*, being the *Vigil* to the Feaſt of St. *Cyprian*, who heretofore had been Biſhop of that Place. This animated the *Africans* who had join'd themſelves with the Imperialiſts ſo much, that they immediately attack'd the *Vandals* that had ſecur'd themſelves in the Church dedicated to that Martyr, and forc'd them out, after which they celebrated the Feaſt with a Joy and Magnificence ſuitable to their Succeſs. *Procopius* ſaith, That *Beliſarius* in his March was attack'd firſt by *Amatas*, the Brother of *Gelimer*, whom he defeated and ſlew, and after that by *Gelimer* himſelf, who fell ſo courageouſly upon the Rear, that the *Romans* were put into great Confuſion; and had not *Gelimer*, upon the News he heard of his Brother's Death, deſiſted, and drawn back his Forces, in all probability he had that Day obtain'd an entire Victory; but the Senſe of his Brother's Misfortune, which depreſs'd and diſpirited him, inſpir'd freſh Courage into the *Romans*, who ſet boldly upon the Enemy, ſlew a great Number upon the Place, and forc'd *Gelimer* to fly for his Safety into the Plains of *Bule*, whilſt *Beliſarius* proceeded in his March to *Carthage*, where he was receiv'd without any Oppoſition; for he took care to have his Orders ſo exactly obſerv'd, that the Citizens follow'd their ſeveral Imployments with as much Security as in the Times of Peace. The ſame Day the Fleet arriv'd in the Bay, about five Miles from the City, and the Men were commanded on Shore by the General, who was lodg'd in *Gelimer*'s Palace, ſeated upon his Throne, ſerv'd by his Servants, and din'd with his Officers upon thoſe Proviſions that had been prepar'd for *Gelimer*; who upon the firſt Motions of the *Romans* againſt him, had ſent his Brother *Trazon*, or *Zanzon*, into *Sardinia*, to ſecure that

*Gelimer defeated.*

*Beliſarius enters Carthage.*

Iſland from the Practices of *Godas*, one of his own Servants, who declar'd for the Emperor.

*Zanzon* obey'd his Orders with ſo much Courage and Succeſs, that he reſtor'd the Iſland to his Brother's Obedience, having firſt overthrown *Godas*, who was ſlain in the Engagement. *Gelimer*, under the preſent Neceſſity of his Affairs, ſtood much in need of his Brother's Amity and Aſſiſtance, who therefore came and join'd him, whilſt he lay encamp'd upon the Plains of *Bule*; but their Meeting was ſuch as ſuited with the diſtracted Condition of their Family. However, after ſome reaſonable time for their Refreſhment, and that the firſt Tranſports of their Grief was over, *Gelimer* advanc'd with the whole Army towards *Carthage*, where, when he was arriv'd, he cut off the Aquæduct, a piece of admirable Workmanſhip, and extraordinary uſe to the City. After he had reſted ſome time near it, and when he found none of the Enemy thought fit to ſally out upon him, he retir'd, and diſpos'd his Army in the Towns adjacent, intending to block up the City. His Men expected the *Carthaginians*, who they imagin'd had no great Friendſhip for the *Romans*, would deliver it up into their Hands, and that ſuch of the *Romans* as were *Arians*, would, upon the Account of Religion, declare for them: Beſides, they had by large Promiſes invited the chief Officers of the *Hunns* or *Maſſagetes* to their Party; they knew they were very averſe to the *Romans*, and that they had enter'd unwillingly, and by Compulſion into the Service; ſo that they readily agreed to the Propoſals the *Vandals* made 'em, and promis'd, when they came to Fight, that they would turn againſt the *Romans*. But a Matter of that Conſequence could not be tranſacted ſo ſecretly, but *Beliſarius* muſt have ſome Information of it; he firſt Crucify'd *Laurus*, a *Carthaginian*, after he had been regularly

gularly convicted of Treaſon, and wrought ſo effectually with the *Maſſagetes* by his artful Addreſs and obliging Carriage, that they reveal'd and confeſs'd the whole Matter to him; and at the ſame time they aſſur'd him, that two Particulars very much cool'd their Zeal for the Emperor's Service: The firſt, a Jealouſie they had, that after the Reduction of *Africk*, they ſhould not be permitted to return home, but be worn out there: The other, that tho' they were diſmiſs'd into their own Country, there Booty would be taken from 'em. He on the one ſide gave 'em all Security imaginable to the contrary, and on the toher oblig'd them by Oath to aſſiſt him with all Diligence and Alacrity. After this, *Beliſarius* exhorted his Army, in a very Pathetick Speech, not to ſuffer themſelves to loſe a Conqueſt of which they were already, in a great meaſure, aſſur'd; and then commanded *John*, the *Armenian*, his Lieutenant, to advance againſt the Enemy with a great part of the Horſe, whilſt he prepar'd to follow the next Day with the reſt of the Army; tho' the *Maſſagetes* had promis'd him all Aſſiſtance and Obedience for the future, yet they reſolv'd ſo to behave themſelves with both Parties, as to expect the Event, and join with the Conquerors. The *Roman* Army came up with the *Vandals* at *Tricomar*, ſeventeen Miles from *Carthage*, and encamp'd at ſome diſtance from them. At Midnight ſome of 'em were much ſurpriz'd at the ſight of a great Prodigy, for they beheld Fire upon the Heads of their Spears, the Points appearing on a ſudden red, and glowing hot. The ſame thing they obſerv'd afterwards in *Italy*, but, being better inſtructed from Experience, they beheld it not with that Surprize and Amazement they did here, but conſider'd it as an infallible Sign of Victory.

The next Morning *Gelimer* plac'd the Women and Children, with all their Wealth, in the midſt

of his Camp, and then, having endeavour'd to animate his Men by such Arguments as were drawn from the present Condition they were in, he advanc'd about Noon towards the *Romans*; and after both Armies had for some time fac'd each other, the Fight began on both sides. *Zanzon* was one of the first that fell, after he had behav'd himself like an Officer of Courage and Experience: In him the *Vandals* may be said to have lost all their Hopes and Resolution, for immediately upon his Death they gave Ground, and the *Hunns*, according to their former Resolution, join'd with the *Romans* in the Chace, which lasted not long, for the *Vandals* soon recover'd their Camp, and secur'd themselves in their Entrenchments; whereupon the *Romans* retir'd back in an orderly manner to their own, having lost but fifty Men on their side, whereas the *Vandals* lost upwards of eight hundred. *Belisarius* being join'd in the Evening by a strong Body of his Infantry, thought fit to compleat his Victory, and so march'd, with his whole Army, to the Camp of the *Vandals*. Upon his Approach *Gelimer*, attended by a few of his neareſt Friends and most faithful Servants, withdrew privately out of the Camp, and fled, with great Precipitation, into *Numidia*; of which as soon as the *Vandals* were inform'd, and when they discover'd the *Roman* Battalions in Motion towards 'em, every Man provided for his own Safety, without any Regard had for the Defence of their Wives and Children, whom they left behind to the Mercy of the insulting Conquerors, by whom they were all taken Captive. The Pursuit lasted all Night, during which the *Romans* slew great Numbers of their Enemies, and found so great a Mass of Treasure in their Camp, as never had been seen in any other; for the *Vandals* having no Place of Security in which they might lodge their Wealth, remov'd

*The* Vandals *routed.*

Gelimer *flies.*

it

it up and down with them, and were now, in a Moment, depriv'd of all they had been ſcraping up for ninety five Years together.

The Spoil was ſo great, and the *Romans* became Maſters of it ſo unexpectedly, that they were intoxicated with their good Fortune, and obſerv'd ſo little Order and Caution, that had the *Vandals* rally'd back upon 'em, they had, with eaſe, taken that Victory out of their Hands, which they took ſuch little Care to ſecure. But *Beliſarius* having, with much Difficulty, reduc'd them into ſome Order, ſent *John* with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to purſue *Gelimer*. *John*, after a March of five Days, came up to *Gelimer*, and, in all probability, had taken him, had not one of his own Officers ſhot him accidentally in the Neck, of which he inſtantly dy'd, and by that means gave *Gelimer* an Opportunity of eſcaping to the Rocks in the Mountains near *Hippo Regia*, a Maritime City in *Numidia*, whither *Beliſarius*, having left a ſufficient Garriſon in *Carthage*, came in purſuit of him; and finding he had ſecur'd himſelf in *Madenos*, one of the ſtrongeſt Cities upon the Mountains, he left *Pharas*, a valiant and prudent Commander, with ſufficient Forces to Beſiege it, whilſt he return'd back with the reſt of the Forces to *Carthage*, there to ſettle the Affairs of the Province, which, after it had been ſo long under the Uſurpation of the *Vandals*, was, in leſs than four Months time, recover'd back to the Empire. The General, in his Return, had all *Gelimer*'s Treaſure deliver'd up to him; for having order'd it to be tranſported into *Spain*, whither the King himſelf intended to follow, it was forc'd back by contrary Winds, into the Haven of *Hippo*, and there ſeiz'd for the uſe of the Emperor. *Beliſarius* being come to *Carthage*, took in ſuch Places as remain'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *Vandals*; had the Iſland of *Majorca*

Gelimer *beſieg'd by* Pharas.

and

and *Minorca* deliver'd up to him; ſecur'd *Tripolis* againſt the Attempts of the *Moors*; reduc'd *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and omitted nothing that could contribute to the Security of the Province, and make the Conqueſt compleat.

A. D. 534. In the mean time *Gelimer* was ſo cloſely preſs'd by *Pharas* in the Mountains, that he was reduc'd to the laſt Extremities; from a ſoft luxurious Life, to which he, as well as the reſt of the *Vandals*, had, from the time they became Maſters of *Africk*, continually accuſtom'd themſelves, he was now forc'd to the greateſt Hardſhips, and labour'd under Neceſſities, with which he never 'till then had been acquainted. *Pharas* had once or twice attempted by Force to take the City, but being repuls'd with loſs, he reſolv'd to block it up. He knew what Diſtreſs *Gelimer* was in, and therefore in a Letter advis'd him *to conſider with himſelf, whether it were not better for him to ſubmit, and upon his Submiſſion enjoy the Dignity of a Patrician, with large Revenues by the Emperor's Favour, than undergo ſuch Hardſhips, and live in the Miſery with which he knew he was then afflicted.* *Gelimer* wept at ſight of the Letter, and in his Anſwer complain'd bitterly of the Emperor, *for labouring as he did to ruin a Prince, from whom he never receiv'd any Injury*; and in Concluſion deſir'd *Pharas to ſend him an Harp, a Loaf of Bread, and a Sponge.* *Pharas* knew not what Interpretation to put upon ſo odd a Requeſt, 'till the Meſſenger inform'd him that *the King long'd to ſee a Bak'd Loaf, becauſe it was a thing he had not ſo much as beheld ſince he came into the Mountains, that he wanted a Sponge to dry up his Tears, and a Harp to comfort him up in his preſent Calamity.*

*Pharas*, touch'd with a ſenſe of his Miſery, and the Viciſſitude of human Affair, ſent him what he deſir'd, but block'd him up cloſer than ever; which

which at length forc'd *Gelimer* to yield, upon ſuch Conditions as *Beliſarius* undertook to make for him with the Emperor; accordingly he was conducted by *Pharas* to *Carthage*, where the General receiv'd him very favourably, and *Gelimer*, when he was preſented to him, is ſaid to have burſt out into a Laughter, which made thoſe who were unacquainted with him, think him diſtracted through the Exceſs of his Miſery; but his Friends, who better knew the Temper of his Mind, imputed it to the View he had, from his preſent Condition, of the Inconſtancy of Fortune, which in ſo ſhort a time had, from a great and powerful Prince, render'd him a deſpicable indigent Slave: And indeed it was ſomething amazing, that a Handful of Strangers, as they were no more in Compariſon, ſhould, in the Space of ſix Months, ſubvert a large and flouriſhing Kingdom, where, at their firſt Arrival, they had not room to drop an Anchor. But we are to conſider, that the Courſe the *Vandals* took for their Security, upon their firſt Settlement in *Africk*, turn'd now very much to their Prejudice; for *Genſerich*, the better to reſtrain the *Africans*, who might otherwiſe be ready to ſtart out into Rebellion, if they had any ſtrong Holds to which they could retire, demoliſh'd all the Forts and wall'd Towns in the Country, *Carthage* only excepted: Which, tho' it might be of Service againſt the Inhabitants, was very pernicious Council in caſe of an Invaſion; for by this means *Beliſarius* render'd himſelf Maſter of the whole Province, with little or no Reſiſtance.

Gelimer *ſurrenders himſelf.*

*Beliſarius* his happy Succeſs abroad, in finiſhing a War of ſo great Importance in ſo ſhort a Time, expos'd him to the Envy of ſome People at home, who are too often ready to injure, and, if poſſible, ruin thoſe they judge to be more deſerving than themſelves. Theſe Perſons repreſented *Beliſa-*

*rius*

*rius* to the Emperor, as one whoſe Ambition made him inclinable to uſurp; that he was a dangerous Man before, but that his late Victories would make him inſupportable, unleſs Care was taken to prevent his Deſigns. The Emperor, either becauſe he deſpis'd theſe malicious Suggeſtions, or for that he choſe rather to conceal his Suſpicions, gave *Beliſarius* leave either to come to Court, or continue in *Africk*, when he ſent him an Account of his Succeſs, and deſir'd Liberty to come with his Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*. But having diſcover'd the Practices they were then forming againſt him, he was more earneſt to appear at Court, where he might clear himſelf of the Imputation, and puniſh his Accuſers. Being arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, he was thought worthy of thoſe ancient Honours which the *Romans* of old conferr'd upon their Favourite Heroes after ſome extraordinary Atchievments, and which had now been diſcontinu'd for ſix hundred Years, except when their Emperors, *Titus*, *Trajan*, and ſome few more, had in Perſon led their Armies forth, and ſubdu'd ſome Barbarous Nations. Among the Spoil, which conſiſted of infinite Treaſure and Royal Furniture, were ſome Monuments of the *Jews*, which having been brought to *Rome* from *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, were carry'd afterwards into *Africk* by *Genſerich*, and were now by *Juſtinian's* Order, reſtor'd to *Jeruſalem*. Among the *Vandals* that were reſerv'd to be led in Triumph, for the Tallneſs and Beauty of their Perſons, appear'd *Gelimer*, more conſpicuous for his Stature than the reſt, and cloth'd in a Purple Robe, as an Inſtance of the Inconſtancy of Human Affairs; who being brought into the *Hippodrome*, and beholding the Emperor ſeated on the Imperial Throne, ſurrounded on all ſides by great Numbers of Spectators, and himſelf the publick Scorn of the People, he expreſs'd himſelf in no other Lamentations

**Beliſarius *Triumphs at* Conſtantinople.**

tions but that Sentence of the Preachers which he often repeated, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity.* The lively sense of his Calamities touch'd the Emperor so nearly, that instead of putting him to Death, as he deserv'd, he granted him and his Relations several Possessions in *Galatia*, at the Interceſſion of *Belisarius*; and had he not continu'd obstinate in the *Arian* Heresie, he had created him a Patrician.

The Emperor at the same time made a liberal Provision for the Subsistance of the *Hilderich*'s Children, as the Descendants from *Valentinian*; and *Belisarius* had such Honours decreed him as had been formerly us'd in ancient Triumphs; for being created Consul the Year following, he was born on the Shoulders of Captives, and drawn in a Chariot, from which he distributed among the People Part of the Spoils taken in the *African* War; the Inhabitants being pleas'd, not so much for what they by that means brought of the Royal Treasure, but for that they beheld the Ceremonies of their Ancestors reviv'd, which gave 'em a pleasant Idea of their former Greatness, and a Prospect of their present Felicity.

*Belisarius*, upon his Departure for *Constantinople*, had left *Salomon*, an Eunuch, and his Lieutenant, to command in *Africk*; who, whilst the Triumph was celebrating with great Solemnity in the City, was busily employ'd in quelling some new Commotions rais'd in his Absence. The *Moors*, upon the first News of the Emperor's intended Expedition into *Africk*, consulted their Old Women, whose Answers were esteem'd as so many Oracles, what Share they were to have in the Success of the War. These Propheteſſes foretold an Army from the Waters, and the Destruction both of *Vandals* and *Moors*, when the *Romans* should be led against them under the Command of a Beardless General. Hereupon they renounc'd all Friendship with the *Vandals*,

*New Troubles in Africk.*

*Vandals*, and enter'd into a League with *Beliſarius*; but ſo ſoon as the *Vandals* were ſubdu'd, they ſent their Spies into the *Roman* Army, to know if they had any General among 'em without a Beard; but finding they were all plentifully ſupplied in thoſe Parts, they thought the Prophecy no way concern'd them, but related to their Poſterity; ſo that they had a great Deſire to break the League, but were afraid to venture whilſt *Beliſarius* continu'd in the Army; but when they heard he was embark'd for *Conſtantinople*, and that the Soldiers lay diſpers'd in Garriſons upon the Borders, they fell upon the defenceleſs *Africans*, whom they kill'd, and then pillaged their Houſes and their Fields, after which they ſurpriz'd the Garriſon in *Byzacium*, and deſtroy'd the adjacent Country.

A. D. 536. *Salomon*, who then lay in *Carthage*, try'd firſt by Letters to convince them of their Folly; but finding them obſtinate, and that they continu'd to haraſs the Country, he march'd againſt 'em; and tho' at the firſt Onſet the *Roman* Cavalry were diſorder'd by the Enemies Camels, yet *Salomon* falling with five hundred Horſe upon them, kill'd two hundred of thoſe Camels; which ſo diſorder'd the *Moors*, that they fled in great Amazement up to the Mountains, and were purſu'd by the *Romans*, who kill'd ten thouſand of 'em, and took the Women Priſoners; after which he return'd to *Carthage*; where he was ſcarce arriv'd, before the Barbarians made an univerſal Invaſion, and overrun the Country of *Byzacium*, where they committed unſpeakable Miſchiefs; after which they encamp'd upon the Mountain *Burgaon*; from whence they were forced with much Difficulty by *Salomon*, who, according to the Report of their own Countrymen who ſurviv'd the Defeat, deſtroy'd fifty thouſand of 'em, the reſt recollecting with great Sorrow the Truth of the Oracle, that foretold their

*The* Moors *defeated by* Salomon.

their Nation was to be destroy'd by a Beardless Man. *Salomon*, after this, met with little Disturbance from the *Moors*, who were very much weaken'd by their late Misfortunes. And now, according to the Course of Time, we are to attend the Emperor's Arms into *Italy*; but forasmuch as there were after this several remarkable Transactions in *Africk*, by which the whole Country was in a great measure endanger'd, and which, for that reason, deserve a Place in this History, we'll suspend the Narration of the *Gothick* Wars in *Italy*, 'till, with *Procopius*, we have finish'd that of the *Vandals* here in *Africk*.

The Lands of the conquer'd *Vandals* were, by a publick Edict, confiscated to the Emperor's Use; but the Soldiers were permitted to marry the Wives and Daughters of those they had overthrown, and claim'd a Right to those Lands in behalf of their Wives, and upon a Repulse became discontented and mutinous. The Emperor at the same time had publish'd some severe Edicts against the *Arians*, of which they were no less than a thousand in the Army, whereby he interdicted 'em the free Use of the Sacraments or Churches, and would not suffer 'em to Baptize their Children at the Feast of *Easter*, nor exercise any other publick Acts of Devotion. Add to all this, that he had rais'd Five Troops of Horse out of the *Vandals* that *Belisarius* brought with him to *Constantinople*, which he intended to settle in Garrisons in the East, there to spend the rest of their Days in the Wars against the *Persians*. Four hundred of these Soldiers being shipp'd off for that purpose, watch'd their Opportunity, forc'd the Seamen to put first into *Peloponnesus*, and from thence they set Sail for *Africk*, where when they were landed, they march'd directly to the Mountain *Aurasium*, and the most inaccessible Parts of *Mauritania*. The News of this

ſo encourag'd the Mutineers, that they reſolv'd inſtantly to put their Deſigns in Practice, and agreed firſt of all to murder *Salomon* in the Church on *Eaſter-Day*, where they met accordingly at the Time appointed; but whether ſeiz'd with a ſudden Horror at the Villany of the Fact, or aw'd by the Preſence of the Governor, or rather prevented by an over-ruling Providence, they ſeparated without perpetrating their Deſign; and tho' they met a ſecond time with the ſame Intent, yet they mov'd no farther in it, than they did at the firſt. However, having proceeded thus far, they conceiv'd it impoſſible for the Thing not to be diſcover'd, ſo moſt of 'em drew out of *Carthage*, and falling upon the *Africans*, pillag'd their Towns.

*A Mutiny in* Africk.

*Salomon* endeavour'd to perſuade thoſe who were left behind to continue ſtedfaſt in their Obedience to the Emperor; but they were ſo far from giving Ear to his Advice, that they choſe another Governor in his ſtead, and rifled the Town, in ſpight of all he could do to reduce 'em. By the Aſſiſtance therefore of *Theodorus*, whom the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny had choſen to ſucceed him, he got a Ship provided for him in the Harbour, in which he embark'd with *Procopius* the Hiſtorian and ſome others, and ſail'd to *Beliſarius*, who then lay at *Syracuſe*, whom he acquainted with the Condition of Affairs in *Africk*, and deſired his Aſſiſtance againſt the Mutineers; who, in the mean time, having plunder'd *Carthage*, muſter'd themſelves, to the number of nine thouſand, in the Plains of *Bule*, and choſe *Stotzas*, one of the Guards, for their General. *Stotzas* was a bold induſtrious Soldier, and led 'em on with great Reſolution to the Walls of *Carthage*, where he ſummon'd thoſe within to yield immediately to him; but they, diſliking their Proceedings, return'd Anſwer by a Meſſenger of their own, that they held the Place for the Emperor.

*Stotzas*

*Stotzas* put the unfortunate Meſſenger to Death, and prepar'd vigorouſly for a Siege, which they preſs'd on with ſo much Expedition, that the Town was juſt upon the point of ſurrendring when *Beliſarius* arriv'd with *Salomon*, and no more than an hundred of his Life-guard; upon notice of whoſe Arrival, the Beſiegers, who judg'd themſeves ſure of the Town before, rais'd the Siege early in the Morning, and broke up in great Diſorder. *Beliſarius* reduc'd two thouſand of 'em by fair Perſuaſions, the reſt he overtook at *Membriſſæ*, a Town diſtant from *Carthage* three and forty Miles, where the Rebels waited for him with great Reſolution, for they depended upon their Numbers, tho' he deſpis'd 'em as an headſtrong undiſciplin'd Rabble.

*Beliſarius engages with the Mutineers,*

When they came to engage, a ſtrong Wind blew full in the Faces of the Mutineers, which made 'em wheel about; for they thought the Imperialiſts would do ſo too, and thereby give them the Advantage: But in Wheeling they were forc'd to break their Ranks and fall into ſome Diſorder; which *Beliſarius* obſerving, he charg'd 'em ſooner than they expected, and put 'em into ſo great a Diſorder, that they were forc'd to fly with Precipitation into *Numidia*. *Beliſarius*, whoſe Army was but ſmall, thought not fit to purſue 'em very far, but gave their Camp up to the Diſcretion of his Soldiers, who found a great deal of Treaſure in it, together with the *Vandal* Women, who had been the Occaſion of the War. After which, having taken the beſt care he could to reſtore things to a peaceable Condition in *Africk*, he return'd into *Sicily*; whither he was likewiſe call'd by a Mutiny of the Army in that Iſland.

*and defeats 'em.*

After his Departure, *Stotzas* ſo prevail'd upon the Troops under the Command of *Marcellus*, Governor of *Numidia*, that they all deſerted to him; upon which their Officers fled into the next

Church for Refuge; thither he went to Beſiege 'em, and tho' he had given 'em a Promiſe to ſave their Lives, if they would ſurrender themſelves up to him, yet he no ſooner had 'em in his Power, but he perfidiouſly murder'd 'em. Theſe Proceedings in *Africk* oblig'd the Emperor to ſend his Couſin *Germauns*, the Patrician, with others of the Chief Officers in his Court, into *Africk*. *Germanus*, as ſoon as he arriv'd at *Carthage*, muſter'd the Army, and found that two Thirds had revolted, and the reſt were employ'd in the neceſſary Defence of that Place, and the Towns adjoining. Seeing therefore it was impoſſible for him to deal with open Strength againſt the Rebels, he ſo far prevail'd upon 'em with fair Words and great Promiſes, eſpecially an Aſſurance of full Pay from the time they had been in Rebellion, that he recover'd great Numbers of 'em to their Duty; by which means he got ſuch an Army together, as equal'd that of the Rebels, and ſo he was reſolv'd to fight 'em.

*Stotzas* finding his Men deſert apace, thought it his Intereſt to bring it to a Battel as ſoon as he could; and therefore encamp'd with the reſt of his Forces within four Miles of *Carthage*, hoping, by his neighbourhood to that Place, to allure ſome of his Fugitive Companions back again: but their Minds were ſo well ſettled by the prudent Management of *Germanus*, that there was not a Soldier among 'em, but what was ready to ſwear Obedience to the General; which, when the Mutineers obſerv'd, they drew off with great Fear towards *Numidia*; but being overtaken by the Imperialiſts, they were forc'd to an Engagement, in which at firſt they had the Advantage, 'till *Germanus*, who run a great hazard in his own Perſon, encourag'd his Troops by his Example, and ſo routed the Enemy. Many were ſlain on both

*The Mutineers again defeated.*

both ſides in the Purſuit, for uſing the ſame Language and Arms, and being clothed after the ſame manner, the Purſuers deſtroy'd their own Friends, 'till *Germanus* order'd his Men to demand the Word. The Enemy's Camp was taken with much Difficulty, and plunder'd by the Soldiers. The Mutineers, after this Defeat, were ſo thoroughly broken, that they never were able to gather to an Head again, tho' ſome farther Attempts were made that way, but happily prevented by the ſeaſonable Circumſpection of *Germauns*; who, ſome time after, was recall'd home, and *Salomon* reſtor'd to his former Employment by the Emperor, who gave him another Army.

*Salomon*, immediately upon his Arrival, endeavour'd to confirm that Peace to which the Province was, in a great meaſure, reſtor'd; he took Care to reform the Army, in which he eſtabliſh'd an exact Diſcipline; he privately remov'd all ſuch as he knew to be of a ſeditious Temper, ſending 'em, upon ſome plauſible Pretence or other, either to *Conſtantinople*, or to *Beliſarius*, who then commanded the Emperor's Forces in *Italy*, filling their Places up with others of a more tractable Diſpoſition, and baniſhing thoſe *Vandals* that were left in the Country, as well the Women as the Men; after this he turn'd his Care to the *Moors*, who had committed ſome Diſorders in the Province, and were become very conſiderable in their Numbers, being join'd by *Antalas*, a great Man with the *Moors*, who had continu'd very faithful to the *Romans*, 'till *Salomon* had provok'd him to revolt, by withdrawing from him the Emperor's Allowance, and putting his Brother to Death for raiſing ſome Commotions among the *Byzaceni*. In this Conteſt *Salomon* unfortunately loſt his Life, to the great Prejudice, and almoſt utter Ruin of the Emperor's Intereſt in *Africk*.

*Salomon* was ſucceeded in his Command by *Sergius*, one of his Nephews, whoſe Incapacity render'd his Uncle's Loſs the more deplorable; for being young, fiery and inſolent, all the General Officers in the Province were much diſcontented at his Advancement, whilſt the Soldiers conſider'd him as a Coward, and ſlighted him accordingly. The *Africans* hated him for his abominable Avarice and Luſt, and for that reaſon declin'd to ſerve againſt the *Moors*, whoſe Forces were augmented daily. *Antalas* invited *Stotzas* out of *Mauritania*, tho' at the ſame time he ſent to the Emperor, and offer'd to be obedient, as became him, provided a worthy Governor was ſent to command in *Africk*. The Emperor at firſt, out of Reſpect to the great Merits of his Uncle *Salomon*, was very unwilling to remove him; but finding what great Cruelties the *Moors*, under the Conduct of *Antalas* and *Stotzas*, to whom ſeveral *Roman* Soldiers join'd themſelves, committed daily in the Province; how none oppos'd 'em, but that they grew more and more formidable; without diveſting him of his Command, he at firſt join'd *Areobindus* in Commiſſion with him, till he was convinc'd how deſtructive two Generals of equal Power in the ſame Province were to his Affairs, and then he ſent *Sergius* into *Italy*, committing the entire Government of *Africk* to *Areobindus*, who was a Senator, and a very honeſt Man, but never bred up a Soldier, which encourag'd *Gontharis*, who had the Command of the Forces in *Numidia*, to revolt, and attempt the Sovereignty. To this purpoſe he perſuaded the *Moors* to march againſt *Carthage*, and held private Correſpondence with *Antalas* and *John*, whom the Mutineers had choſen for their General in the room of *Stotzas*, to whom he diſcover'd what ſecret Meaſures the Governor took in order to ſuppreſs 'em.

Tho' *Areobindus* was inform'd of *Gontharis* his Treaſon, and Deſigns upon him, yet he refus'd to proceed openly againſt him, 'till he had ſent for him, and heard what he had to ſay in his own Behalf, tho' he was advis'd to begin firſt, and ſo put a ſtop to any further Miſchief. *Gontharis*, inſtead of vindicating himſelf, or denying his Deſigns, publickly own'd his Uſurpation, and then *Areobindus* was prevail'd upon to go out and Fight him, follow'd by *Artabanes*, the *Armenian*, who, being of the Race of the *Arſacidæ*, had, together with his Brother who was kill'd in a late Engagement with the *Moors*, enter'd into the Emperor's Service, and Commanded ſome of his Countrymen that came over with *Areobindus*. Tho' the Uſurper had endeavour'd to poſſeſs the Soldiers with a Belief of *Areobindus* his Cowardice, and perſuade 'em he intended to defraud 'em of their Pay, yet the greateſt Part continuing firm in their Duty, iſſu'd out of their ſeveral Quarters; and had, in all likelihood, deſtroy'd the Tyrant and his Adherents, had not *Areobindus*, who was not us'd to ſee Men cut and deſtroy each other, fled like a Madman, and taken Sanctuary in a Monaſtery, within the Walls of *Carthage*; after which *Artabanes* retir'd with the reſt, and left *Gontharis* Maſter of the City, the Palace and the Haven. *Areobindus* was, by means of *Reparatus*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, perſuaded to come to *Gontharis*, before whom he behav'd himſelf with a Submiſſion more becoming a Slave than a *Roman* Senator and General: *Gontharis* gave him a great many fair Words, but had him murder'd the ſame Night, and ſent his Head to *Antalas*, who was aſham'd and affronted at the Treaſon and Perjury of the Tyrant; and therefore reſolv'd to ſubmit to the Emperor, with whom he was not mortally offended, rather than truſt to an Uſurper, who would neither

Gontharis *Uſurps in* Africk.

keep his Faith with him, nor any one elſe; accordingly he drew off from the Mutineers, who, together with *John* their Commander, revolted to *Gontharis*. *Artabanes* likewiſe, upon aſſurance of Safety, came to Court with his *Armenians*, profeſſing an implicit Obedience to the Uſurper, tho', being of a great and generous Spirit, he reſolv'd from the very firſt, if poſſible, to ruin him, but conceal'd his Deſigns, by readily eſpouſing his Service. The better to attain his Ends, he adviſ'd the Tyrant to march in Perſon againſt *Antalas*, who grew dangerous, and made him very unſecure in his Uſurpation. *Gontharis* prepar'd accordingly for the Expedition, leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in *Carthage*, under the Command of *Paſiphilus* his Chief Miniſter, who had been a Ringleader in the Mutiny of *Byzacium*, and a great Promoter of *Gontharis* his Uſurpation. Him he ordered to deſtroy all the *Greeks* in his Abſence, and, the Night before his Departure, invited his Friends to Supper, which *Artabanes* judg'd a fit Opportunity to execute his Deſigns: Having communicated it before to *Gregorius*, his Nephew, and *Artaſiris*, one of his Guard. *Gregorius* was to bring ſome of the ſtouteſt *Armenians* to the Palace arm'd with their Swords, and, upon a pretended Suſpicion that their Captain was invited out of no true Affection to his Perſon, they were to deſire to ſtand among the Guards of *Gontharis*. *Artaſiris* was to watch the moſt convenient time, and then kill the Tyrant; but he deſir'd *Artabanes* to do as much by him if he ſaw he had not mortally wounded him, leſt he ſhould be forc'd, by Torture, to diſcover him, and together with himſelf, ruin his Captain. All things being thus concerted and agreed upon, *Gregorius* and *Artaſiris* ſtood behind *Gontharis* at Supper, whilſt the reſt of the *Armenians* continu'd according to their Inſtructions, with the Tyrant's Guards

Guards without, and were not to ſtir 'till they heard the Cry within, and then they were to do as they had been directed. In the midſt of the Feaſt, and when the Tyrant grew heated with Wine, *Artaſiris*, upon ſome Pretence, went out, for he found he could not draw his Scimiter without being obſerv'd in the Room; but returning preſently after with it drawn, and hid under his Robe, he ſtepp'd up to *Gontharis*, as to whiſper ſomething to him in private; at that Inſtant one of the Waiters diſcover'd the Scimiter, and thruſting in between him cry'd out; upon which, as the Tyrant was turning about, *Artaſiris* cut off part of his Skull, and *Artabanes*, who ſat by him, ſtabb'd him into the Side, whereupon he fell down dead; after which the *Armenians*, who heard the Noiſe, ruſh'd in, and kill'd the *Vandals*, and ſuch other of the Uſurper's Friends as were ſeated upon other Couches in the ſame Room at Supper. Thus did the Courage and Loyalty of a few Strangers recover *Africk* to the Emperor's Obedience, and puniſh an Uſurper with a Death he too well deſerv'd, on the thirty fifth Day of his Uſurpation; and *Africk*, after a long and bloody War, to which the Emperor was forc'd by the Inhumanity of *Gelimer*, enjoy'd at length ſome Repoſe, tho' much broken and impoveriſh'd. After this the Emperor had more leiſure to attend the War that was carry'd on with great Heat in *Italy*, occaſion'd likewiſe by the Parricide of a Barbarian; and as both in the one, and the other, *Juſtinian*'s Cauſe was juſt, ſo was it Crown'd with the Succeſs it deſerv'd.

*Gontharis kill'd.*

II. Tho' *Theodorich* at his Death had declar'd *Athalarick*, his Grandſon, King of *Italy*, and he was acknowledg'd as ſuch by the Nobility and People; yet the young Prince's Mother, *Amalaſont*, had the ſole Management of Affairs during her

*The beginning of the Wars in Italy.*

her Son's Minority, and diſcharg'd her Truſt with ſo much Honour and Integrity, that ſhe was belov'd and eſteem'd by all but ſuch as preferr'd their private Intereſt and Ambition to the publick Proſperity. She took Care to have her Son educated after the manner of the *Roman* Princes, committing him to the Care of ſuch Governors as were renown'd for their Prudence and Learning. This the *Goths* diſlik'd, and declar'd it was an Education unfit for their Prince, who was to be Active and Warlike, not Soft and Effeminate; and when his Mother once ſtruck him upon ſome juſt Provocation, he went out weeping into another Room, where ſome of the Principal among the *Goths* were met together, who took occaſion from thence to complain more loudly of the Queen, as if ſhe deſign'd to remove her Son, and Reign in her own Right, both over the *Goths* and *Italians*. They exclaim'd againſt Learning, as an Enemy to a valiant Spirit, corrupting the Mind with Baſeneſs and Cowardice; they reminded her of her Father, who tho' he was utterly ignorant of Letters, yet he was a warlike, victorious Prince, and concluded that her Son muſt be bred up in the ſame Studies, if he would be attended with the ſame Fortune; and therefore they deſir'd her to diſmiſs his Pedants, and aſſociate him with Companions of his own Age, who by ther Converſation might make the Cuſtoms of their own Nation familiar to him, and incline him to govern according to their own Laws. This they demanded with ſo much Warmth and Importunity, that ſhe was forc'd, out of Fear, to comply with 'em; ſo that from that time forward her Son was attended by ſuch as taught him the ill Uſe of Wine, and unlawful Love of Women, to which by degrees he became ſo much addicted, that the very Footſteps of Virtue were defac'd in him; and, to render a Reformation impoſſible, they taught

taught him to be ſtubborn and undutiful, ſo that he unnaturally deſerted his Mother in a Faction that had the Arrogance to command her to retire from Court; however ſhe behav'd her ſelf with a maſculine, undaunted Spirit, and confin'd two or three of the moſt forward, ſeverally to the remoteſt Parts of *Italy*, under a Pretence of ſecuring the Borders againſt the Enemy. Theſe Perſons being thus remov'd from Court, through their Correſpondence with their Friends and Relations, maintain'd and exaſperated the ſame malevolent Spirit againſt her, ſo that not being able to contend with the general Diſlike of the People, that were cheated and miſled into the Faction, ſhe deſir'd leave of *Juſtinian* to retire to *Conſtantinople* when ever ſhe found it dangerous to continue longer in *Italy*. To this the Emperor, who was glad of the Opportunity, return'd her a very favourable Anſwer, and dealt ſo effectually by his Ambaſſadors with her, that they found her inclinable to deliver *Italy* into his Hands; for her Son was by this time fall'n into a Conſumption, occaſion'd by his intemperate living, and ſhe found her ſelf vigorouſly oppos'd in all her Affairs by her Nephew *Theodatus*, who, being Lord of many Towns in *Tuſcany*, grievouſly oppreſs'd the Inhabitants; of which ſhe being inform'd, endeavour'd to reſtrain him by her Authority, and thereby made him her implacable Enemy. Being thus divided between themſelves, both of 'em endeavour'd to ſupport their particular Intereſt by the Emperor's Friendſhip: *Theodatus* profer'd to betray *Tuſcany* into his Hands, upon Payment of a good Sum of Money, and Dignity of a Senator, at the ſame time that *Amalaſont* propos'd to deliver all *Italy* up to him. Theſe Diviſions the Emperor endeavour'd to husband to the beſt Advantage, when the Death of *Athalarick*, which happen'd during theſe Negotiations, after he had reign'd

A. D. 534. Athalarick *Dies.*

reign'd eight Years, threw *Amalaſont* into new Difficulties. She was not yet prepar'd to make good her Promiſe to the Emperor, and ſhe found that her Intereſt, which was declining in her Son's Life time, grew every Day weaker with the *Goths*, the Principal among whom ſhe had, during her Adminiſtration, very much offended. She perceiv'd 'em earneſtly deſirous of a King, and thought if ſhe had Power enough left to raiſe one to the Throne, ſhe hop'd the Perſon ſo advanc'd by her Favour, would be contented with the Title, and in Gratitude re-eſtabliſh her in the Authority. With theſe Conſiderations ſhe caſt her Eyes upon *Theodatus*; and forgetting how much ſhe had incens'd him againſt her, or thinking at leaſt ſo ſignal a Service would appeaſe and reconcile him to her, ſhe offer'd him the Title, on condition he would continue her in the Power. He ſtill reſenting her former Uſage, ſwore ſolemnly to whatever ſhe demanded, but with an Intent never to perform it; for being in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, he quickly made it appear he was irreconcileable; and, in ſpite of his Oath, confin'd her to an Iſland on the Lake *Ulſinus* in *Tuſcany*. And fearing the Diſpleaſure of the Emperor, who he knew had always maintain'd a ſecret Correſpondence, and was in ſtrict Amity with her, he forc'd her to write to him, and commend her Nephew for his great Civility and Reſpect towards her. Theſe Letters he ſent in a Diſpatch with his own, in which he complain'd of the many Injuries he had received from the Queen, and made the Senate at the ſame time write to the ſame purpoſe.

Theodatus *made King,*

The Emperor was ſo far from giving Credit to what *Theodatus* endeavour'd to urge againſt her, that he openly eſpous'd her Cauſe, and ſent her Letters by his Ambaſſadors full of Comfort, and his Reſolutions to protect her. But before his Ambaſſadors

ſadors could reach *Italy*, *Amalaſont* was murder'd, by the Relations of ſome whom in the late Factions ſhe had upon juſt Provocations put to Death. *who Murders* Amalaſont.

As this Murder was highly reſented by the moſt ſober and diſcerning Party among the *Goths*, who deſervedly admir'd her for the Excellency of her Virtues, ſo was *Juſtinian* extreamly enrag'd againſt *Theodatus* for ſo horrible a Cruelty committed upon his Aunt and Queen, whoſe Perſon ought to have been Sacred, and whoſe Life in Nature and Gratitude, he ought to have defended at the Hazard of his own. *Theodatus* endeavour'd to clear himſelf, and charge the Murder upon the *Goths*, who are too headſtrong to be reſtrain'd by him. How little Truth and Sincerity there was in this Excuſe, appear'd from his Carriage towards the Murderers, whom he was ſo far from puniſhing as the Heinouſneſs of their Crime deſerv'd, that he countenanc'd and advanc'd 'em; which made it evident to the World, that the Murder was committed by his Procurement. *Procopius* ſaith, he was incited to it by the ſecret Sollicitations of the Empreſs *Theodora*, who knew her Husband deſign'd to ſend for her to *Conſtantinople*, where ſhe was afraid of being eclips'd by *Amalaſont*'s great Virtues and moſt excellent Qualities. This execrable Act of *Theodatus* gave the Emperor a juſt Provocation to declare War againſt him; and 'tis very probable *Juſtinian* was glad of ſo favourable an Opportunity of entring into *Italy*, which he earneſtly deſir'd to reunite to the Empire.

*Juſtinian* having with the Advice of his Council, reſolv'd upon a War, made choice of *Mundus* and *Beliſarius* for his Generals. *Mundus*, being General of *Illyricum*, was commanded to march into *Dalmatia*, ſubject at that time to the *Goths*, and attempt *Salonæ*, the better to open a Paſſage into *Italy*. The *Goths* readily offer'd him a Battel, which,

which, after a hot Diſpute on both Sides, they loſt, and *Salonæ*, the Fruit of the Victory, fell into his Hands. *Beliſarius* was order'd to make a Deſcent into *Sicily*, having a good Fleet ready, on Board of which were four Thouſand Legionary Soldiers and Confederates, three thouſand *Iſaurians*, two hundred Auxiliary *Hunns*, and three hundred *Moors*, beſides his own Life-guard. *Beliſarius* was made General with abſolute Authority; and his Inſtructions were, to pretend a Voyage to *Carthage*, but to attempt *Sicily*; which, if it might be effected with Eaſe, he was to ſubdue and ſecure, otherwiſe to ſail directly for *Africk*, without diſcovering his Inſtructions. The Iſland was reduc'd with more Expedition than the General himſelf expected, for he took all the chief Towns without any Oppoſition, only he met with ſome Reſiſtance at *Syracuſe*, which the *Goths* defended with great Reſolution, depending upon the Strength of the Place; which indeed by Land was impregnable, but attacking it furiouſly by Sea, it was ſurrender'd upon Articles, and he enter'd into it on the laſt of *December*, concluding that Conſulate with a Victory which he begun with a Triumph; for he was the ſole Conſul of that Year, at the Beginning of which he Triumph'd at *Conſtantinople* for his late Succeſs in *Africk*.

Sicily *reduc'd by* Beliſarius.

In the mean time *Juſtinian*, who knew the Kings of *France* were of the ſame Faith with himſelf, and allow'd the *Arians* no Toleration in their Dominions, endeavour'd to perſuade them by many Preſents to join with him in the War againſt *Theodatus*, the profeſs'd Enemy of the Catholick Faith. Of which *Theodatus* being ſenſible, as likewiſe terrify'd at the Succeſs of the Emperor's Forces, both in *Sicily* and *Dalmatia*, he began to liſten to the Imperial Ambaſſador, who perſuaded him to a Submiſſion, and in a ſecret Conference agreed to renounce all Pre-

tenſions

tenſions to the Iſland of *Sicily*; to ſend the Emperor yearly a Crown of Gold in token of Submiſſion, and to raiſe three thouſand Men for his Service, whenever he ſhould require them: He oblig'd himſelf likewiſe never to put to Death or confiſcate the Goods of any Prieſt or Senator without the Emperor's Conſent, nor advance any to the Degree of a Patrician or Senator contrary to his Approbation; in all Acclamations *Juſtinian*'s Name was to be firſt mention'd; and when ever *Theodatus* had his Statue erected, the Emperor was to have another plac'd on the Right Hand: Condeſcenſions unworthy a Prince, and which ſhow'd the Poorneſs of his Spirit. And yet, leſt the Emperor ſhould not be ſatisfy'd with theſe Terms, but reſolve upon the War, which he extreamly abhorr'd, and apprehended with Diſtraction, he recall'd the Ambaſſador, that was on his Journey homewards as far as *Albania*; who, obſerving the great Terror he was in, took the Advantage of his Cowardice, and perſuaded him to reſign the Kingdom to *Juſtinian*, and content himſelf with a Penſion ſuitable to his Quality, to be paid him out of the Emperor's own Patrimony. This Reſignation in *Theodatus* his Name was to be made to *Juſtinian*, in caſe he rejected the firſt Conditions: But by a ſolemn Oath he bound *Peter*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, and *Agapetus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, who was ſent on Behalf of *Theodatus*, not to make mention of it 'till they found the Emperor reſolv'd againſt any Terms more moderate. The firſt Capitulations were ſo far from pleaſing *Juſtinian*, that the very mention of 'em enrag'd him; but upon ſight of the ſecond he was ſo overjoy'd, that he immediately ſent his Ambaſſadors to conclude and eſtabliſh the Agreement, and order'd *Beliſarius*, as ſoon as he had ſettled Affairs in *Sicily*, to paſs over into *Italy*, and take Poſſeſſion of the Country in his Name. But before

A. D. 536.

fore these things could be put in execution, *Theodatus*, who being naturally a Coward, was consequently of an irresolute inconstant Temper, grew as haughty and presumptuous as he had before been humble and complying; which was chiefly owing to an accidental Advantage the *Goths* had obtain'd over the Emperor's Forces in *Dalmatia*: For as *Mauritius*, the Son of *Mundus*, went with a few others out of *Salona*, to view the Condition and Number of the Enemy, they were all cut off by an advanc'd Party; wherewith his Father was so enrag'd, that he engag'd the whole Body with more Courage than Discretion; however he defeated 'em; but out of a Thirst of Revenge, he pursu'd 'em so far before his Troops, that a *Goth*, who fled from him, turn'd back and slew him, before any of his own Men could come up to his Assistance. At the same time *Belisarius* was call'd by *Salomon* out of *Sicily* into *Africk*, to quell the Mutiny we had occasion to mention before. Upon which Considerations *Theodatus* grew so elevated, that when the Emperor's Ambassadors objected to him the Breach of Faith, he put a Guard upon 'em, and declar'd resolutely for the War. *Justinian* being justly offended at these his Proceedings, sent *Constantianus* with fresh Forces into *Dalmatia*, who drove the *Goths* out of the Country, and put strong Garrisons into all the defensive Towns, at the same time that *Belisarius*, who was return'd out of *Africk*, made a Descent into *Italy*. *Theodatus* had rais'd a strong Army for his Defence, and made *Ebremudus*, who had marry'd his Daughter, General; who, tho' he lay under all Obligations imaginable to be faithful to his Benefactor, deserted his Command, and fled over to *Belisarius*, whilst he was embarking his Forces in *Sicily*, who sent him to *Constantinople*, where he discover'd all *Theodatus* his Intrigues to *Justinian*, by whom he was kindly receiv'd, and dignify'd with the

Mundus *and his Son slain in* Dalmatia

the Honour of Patrician; tho' not ſo much to reward him for his Treaſon, as to allure the *Goths* by his Clemency and Bounty.

Beliſarius *lands with an Army in* Italy.

From *Meſſina Beliſarius*, tranſported his Army, and landed without any Oppoſition at *Rhegium*. All the Towns in the *Abruzzo* and *Lucania* open'd their Gates to him, induc'd to it either through Fear, or for that being grown weary of the *Gothick* Government, they were willing to receive him. Paſſing up the Country into *Campania*, his Army encreas'd every Day by ſuch as came to join with him; ſo that when he ſate down before *Naples*, it was much ſtronger than at his firſt Landing. *Theodatus* had taken care to put a good Garriſon of *Goths* into the City, and they were reſolv'd to defend it to the utmoſt. The Eyes of the whole World were fix'd upon this Siege, upon the Succeſs of which the Event of the War in a great meaſure depended: For if the Defendants were able to make it good againſt the Emperor's Forces, it would turn much to the Diſcredit of *Beliſarius*, and diſhearten his Soldiers; and, on the other ſide, if he carry'd it, the King would unavoidably loſe the ſmall Reputation he was in with his Subjects, and the *Goths* be afraid afterwards to make head againſt a victorious Army. Of this *Beliſarius* was very ſenſible, and therefore endeavour'd firſt to win 'em by a Treaty, in which he urg'd many Arguments drawn from Self-preſervation; and when he found they would give ear to no Accommodation, he made ſeveral Aſſaults, but was as often repuls'd with great Loſs, the Walls, by reaſon the Steepneſs of the Ground and the Advantage of the Sea, being inacceſſible. He cut the great Aquæduct that ſupply'd the City with Water, to remedy which they dug Wells that ſerv'd their Turns as well. This made him imagine the Siege would continue longer than he at firſt propos'd, and ſo

*He beſieges* Naples.

force

and force him to ſet upon *Rome* and *Theodatus* in the Winter: Hereupon he reſolv'd to riſe, and gave Orders for his Army to diſlodge, when an *Iſaurian*, who was viewing the Structure of the Aquæduct with a Curioſity more than ordinary, obſerv'd, that if the Paſſage which was cut through a Rock for the Conveyance of the Water was enlarg'd, a Body of Forces might eaſily get through, and ſurprize the City. He inform'd the General of the Obſervation he had made, who joyfully entertain'd the Overture; and having widen'd the Paſſage, once more ſummon'd the Beſieg'd to ſurrender, who defy'd him from the Walls, and declar'd they would hold out to the laſt Extremity: The next Night therefore he order'd ſix hundred Men to enter the Vault, who took ſome Lights and two Trumpets with them, as well to terrifie the City as to give the General Notice of their Succeſs. Theſe Men with much Difficulty got into the Town, and having kill'd the Guards, open'd the Gates for the reſt of the Army to enter, who ſlew all thoſe they found in Arms, and pillag'd the City. *Beliſarius* is much commended by *Procopius* for his great Clemency towards the Citizens, whilſt others, tho' of leſs Authority, condemn him for his Barbarity. The Garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred Men, were taken into the Emperor's Pay; and *Beliſarius* continu'd a few Days at *Naples*, as well to refreſh his Army as provide for the Security of that and the Towns adjacent, which following her Fortune, had declar'd for the Emperor.

*and takes it.*

The *Goths* throughout all *Italy* were much alarm'd at the General's Succeſs, and no leſs amaz'd at the Stupidity of their Prince, who made no Preparation to ſtop the Progreſs of the Enemy by a Battel, but ſeem'd inclinable to betray the Country upon the Proſpect of an unactive retir'd Life. He was hated by ſome for his Cruelty to *Amalaſont*, deſpis'd

ſpis'd by others for his Inactivity, and ſuſpected by all to correſpond privately with *Juſtinian*, ſince his Son-in-law was ſo much in that Emperor's Favour. Whereupon, the moſt leading Men of the Nation met at a Place about five and thirty Miles from *Rome*, and, after a ſerious Conſultation, proclaim'd *Vitiges* King of the *Goths*. *Vitiges* was a Perſon of no conſiderable Family, but had behav'd himſelf with much Honour and Reputation in the Wars under *Theodorich*, for which Reaſon he was very acceptable to that martial Nation. *Theodatus*, who lay then at *Rome*, fled towards *Ravenna* upon the firſt Intimation of their Proceedings, but was ſlain before he could reach to that City, by Order from the new King, who at the ſame time put his Son into Priſon, and there had him murder'd. After this, he writ a very handſome circular Letter, to be found amongſt the reſt into *Caſſiodorus*, wherein he exhorted all the *Goths* to exert their ancient Courage, and to preſerve and maintain their Conqueſts againſt all thoſe that dared diſturb 'em in the Poſſeſſion of them. Being of Opinion he was not ſtrong enough to defend *Rome* againſt *Beliſarius*, who was marching towards it, nor able as yet to meet him in the Field, he reſolved to remove to *Ravenna*, where he might more conveniently reinforce his Army, and be the better able to face the Enemy: and this he was the more inclined to, becauſe he was apprehenſive of the *French*, who were in Confederacy with the Emperor, and of whoſe Friendſhip notwithſtanding, he did not totally deſpair: He therefore left four thouſand *Goths* in *Rome* for the Defence of the City, took an Oath of Fidelity from the Senate and the Pope, and carried ſeveral of the Senators with him to *Ravenna*, as Hoſtages for the reſt; and to preſerve the good Will and Affection of the *Goths*, he married *Mataſuntha*, the beautiful Daughter of *Amalaſont*;

*Theodatus depos'd, and Vitiges proclaim'd King:*

*who goes to Revenna.*

and ſeizing upon the Treaſure of his Predeceſſors, beſtow'd it upon ſuch as he thought were faithful, and could be the moſt ſerviceable to him. At *Ravenna* he ſummon'd the *Goths* from all Parts together, and put 'em into a poſture of Defence; and conſidering how eaſie it was for the *Franks* to break into *Italy*, whilſt he march'd with his Army towards *Rome*, and how impoſſible it was for him to contend at once with them and the *Romans*, in a general Council he perſuaded his Officers to ſend ſome Ambaſſadors to treat of an Alliance between 'em, and draw 'em over to their Intereſt, by giving 'em a conſiderable Sum of Money, and reſigning up that Part of *Gaul* which had hitherto been under the Dominion of *Theodorich* and his Succeſſors, and which *Theodorich* had promis'd to deliver to 'em before his Death. The Princes of the *Franks* divided the Money and the Country between 'em, and entring in a Confederacy, promis'd to aſſiſt the *Goths*; tho', being at the ſame time in Alliance with the Emperor, they could not openly enter into a War againſt him, and therefore the Aid they ſent *Vitiges* into *Italy*, conſiſted not of *Franks*, but ſuch Nations as were ſubject to 'em, having learnt the Art of evading the Intent of a Treaty, tho' they had adher'd to the Letter of it. About this Time, as *Procopius* obſerves, the Kings of *France* began to coin Money with their own Image impreſs'd upon it, and not that of the Emperor, or King of *Italy*, which ſhow'd 'em Sovereigns independant of the one or the other.

In the mean time *Beliſarius*, having Garriſon'd all the Places of Conſequence in *Campania*, prepar'd to march with his Army to *Rome*, whilſt *Vitiges* was more employ'd in confirming himſelf in his new Authority, then prepar'd to defend the City. The taking of *Naples*, which was eſteem'd a very ſtrong and well fortify'd Town, and the barbarous Uſage

Uſage the Inhabitants were ſaid to have receiv'd from the inſulting Soldiers, together with the Reputation of their victorious General, ſo aw'd and terrify'd the Citizens of *Rome*, that when they heard of his Approach, they were reſolv'd to make no Oppoſition, but open the Gates, and receive him into the City; they therefore ſent and invited him thither, and ſo order'd it, that the *Goths*, who found it in vain to contend, ſally'd out at one Gate, whilſt *Beliſarius* was entring at another, who accordingly took Poſſeſſion of *Rome* in the Emperor's Name, and ſo re-united it to the Empire, ſixty Years after it had been taken by the *Heruli*, *An. Dom.* 536. the Year after the Conſulate of *Beliſarius*. Beliſarius *enters* Rome.

III. *Rome* being thus recovered out of the Hands of Barbarians, became a Member of that Empire, of which heretofore ſhe had been the Head. She had worn the Yoke of Captivity too long not to retain the Marks of it; for as under the *Goths* ſhe was us'd as a Slave, ſo was ſhe ſtill a Servant, guided by the Councils of Foreign Powers, and depending on the Fortunes of another City. A. D. 536.

The Keys of the City, together with *Leuderis* the Governor, who choſe rather to be taken than fly with thoſe who had not the Courage to wait his Commands, *Beliſarius* ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and then apply'd himſelf with great Skill and Induſtry to the Reparation of the Walls; in which he extreamly diſoblig'd the Inhabitants, who wonder'd he ſhould prepare againſt a Siege in a City that was neither ſituated on the Sea, nor had Walls capable of a Defence, but expos'd without any natural Fortifications in an open Champain, liable to all Aſſaults. Notwithſtanding which *Beliſarius* vigorouſly prepar'd for a Siege, ſending for great Quantities of Corn out of *Sicily*, which he ſtor'd up in the publick Granaries, and compelling the

*Romans* to bring in all the Grain their Farms afforded, with whatever elſe was neceſſary for the Subſiſtance of Humane Life.

Nor was this the only thing in which *Beliſarius* offended the Citizens; for not long after he depos'd *Sylverius* their Biſhop, and ſubſtituted *Vigilius* in his Place, wherewith they were the more affronted, becauſe, 'till then, the Choice of their Biſhops reſided ſolely in their own Clergy. A fuller Account of this Matter will give the Reader a little Inſight into the Affairs of the Church in thoſe Days.

*The State of the Church about that time.*

*Theodora*, the Empreſs, was grievouſly infected with the *Eutychian* Hereſie; and tho' *Juſtinian* himſelf firmly adher'd to the Orthodox Faith, yet he had not Power enough over the intractable Humour of his Wife, to make her adjure her Errors, but on the contrary was often miſled by her, to the great Prejudice as well of the Church as State. Upon the Death of *Epiphanius Syncellus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, *An. Dom.* 534, *Theodora*, contrary to the Forms and Canons of the Church, forc'd *Anthimus*, Biſhop of *Tribiſond*, into the See. *Anthimus* was a crafty factious Prieſt, who tho' he made an outward Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, yet in his Heart he was devoted to the Doctrines of *Eutyches*. At the ſame time the Empreſs, who apply'd all her Intereſt and Authority to the Support and Encouragement of the *Eutychians*, preferr'd *Theodoſius*, a Prieſt of that Faction, to the See of *Alexandria*; with which the Citizens and Monks were ſo little pleas'd, that they choſe another of the ſame Opinion, call'd *Gaian*, who in leſs than three Months was driven into Exile by *Narſes*, whom the Empreſs had ſent on purpoſe to *Alexandria* to ſupport *Theodoſius*. He held the Chair no longer than one Year and four Months, during which time the City was divided into *Theodoſians* and *Gaianites*, who were likewiſe call'd the *Incorruptibles*,

*ruptibles*, becauſe they maintain'd, *That, after the Union of the two Natures in Jeſus Chriſt, his Body was incorruptible, and that it was ſubject to none of the Infirmities incident to Human Nature, ſuch as Grief, Pain, and the like*; which manifeſtly overthrew the Verity of the Humane Nature in our Saviour, and deſtroy'd the Myſtery of our Redemption. So fruitful is Error, that the *Eutychians* themſelves were divided into no leſs than five or ſix Parties, ſuch as the *Severians*, the *Gaianites*, the *Theodoſians*, the *Themiſtians*, the *Jacobins*, and *Barſanians*, who tho' they all agreed in rejecting the Council of *Chalcedon*, yet did they diſagree among themſelves in ſome particular Points, by which it plainly appear'd that they had broken the Bond of Unity, when once they had renounc'd the Spirit of Truth.

*Anthimus*, being thus introduc'd into the Patriarchal See by the Credit of the Empreſs, profeſs'd himſelf a Catholick 'till his Eſtabliſhment, tho' the Poiſon was rooted deep in his Heart; but when the Emperor and Clergy deſir'd him to make a ſincere Confeſſion of his Faith, he deluded 'em by his Stratagems, and daily countenanc'd and preferr'd the *Eutychians*. About this time *Agapetus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, was arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, in Quality of *Theodatus* his Ambaſſador, and at his Arrival found the Proceſs drawn up, and Judgment ready to paſs upon *Anthimus*, who was ſhortly after depos'd, and *Menas* conſecrated in his room, to the great Indignation of *Theodora*, who labour'd earneſtly with *Agapetus* for his Reſtoration, and after his Death addreſs'd her ſelf to *Vigilius* his Deacon, who ſhe knew to be of an haughty ambitious Temper. She promis'd to make him Biſhop of *Rome*, upon Condition he revok'd the late Synod of *Conſtantinople*, wherein *Anthimus*, *Severus*, and *Theodoſius* were condemn'd as Hereticks, and that

in a Letter to 'em he would approve and confirm their Faith. *Vigilius* readily undertook to do whatever ſhe deſir'd, and ſo return'd into *Italy* loaden with Gold, and with Letters directed from the Empreſs to *Beliſarius*, wherein ſhe enjoyn'd him to expel *Sylverius*, choſen Pope upon the Death of *Agapetus*, and procure the Election of *Vigilius*. *Sylverius* having firſt refus'd to comply with her
A. D. 537. in behalf of *Anthimas*, *Vigilius* promis'd *Beliſarius* two hundred Marks of Gold upon his Promotion. *Beliſarius* being then at *Rome*, ſent for *Sylverius* to Court, where he reproach'd him for holding Intelligence with the *Goths*, to whom he had a Deſign of betraying the City, and forg'd Letters were produc'd to make good the Allegation. *Beliſarius*, who knew very well that the Accuſation was falſe, endeavour'd privately to perſuade the Pope to condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, and *Sylverius* demanded ſome Advocates to conſult with them what was proper to be done; but being got out of the Palace, betook himſelf to a Church as to a Place of Safety, for he apprehended they would offer him ſome Violence. *Beliſarius* ſent and entreated him to come again to Court, promiſing upon Oath, that he ſhould return in Safety. Whereupon, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, he went to the Palace, and was ſuffer'd to go back again that Night to the Church. Some time after, *Beliſarius* ſent for him again, and being come to Court, was carry'd into an inner Apartment, where he was diveſted of his Epiſcopal Habits, and made a Monk; after which *Vigilius* was created Pope by the ſole Power and Authority of *Beliſarius*, who baniſh'd *Sylverius* into *Lycia*. *Juſtinian* being inform'd of theſe infamous Proceedings, commanded *Sylverius* to be recall'd into *Italy*, where if it appear'd he was Author of the Letters produc'd againſt him, then he ſhould

have

have Liberty to reſide any where but in *Rome*, and if he was innocent, he order'd him to be reſtor'd to his See. Though the Empreſs us'd all her Arts and Authority to oppoſe this, yet *Juſtinian* continu'd unalterable, and ſo *Sylverius* return'd into *Italy*; of which when *Vigilius* was inform'd, and fearing to be himſelf expell'd, he told *Beliſarius*, *That unleſs* Sylverius *was deliver'd up into his Hands, he ſhould not be able to make good his Promiſe of paying the Sum of Money they had at firſt agreed upon the Payment of*, and which *Vigilius*, either out of Covetouſneſs or Fear of offending the *Romans*, had hitherto declin'd. Upon this *Sylverius* was deliver'd to thoſe *Vigilius* had ſent for him, and hurry'd into the Iſle of *Palmaria*, where he dy'd of Famine under their Hands. *Vigilius*, in purſuance of his Promiſe to the Empreſs, writ to the Principal among the *Eutychians*, declaring that he had always been of the ſame Faith with them, which however he deſired might be kept ſecret, and that in their great Wiſdom they would openly appear diſtruſtful of him, 'till he had accompliſh'd the great Things he had undertaken; at the ſame time he expreſs'd his Confeſſion in theſe Words, *We deny two diſtinct Natures to be in Jeſus Chriſt, who is one ſole Son, one ſole Chriſt, one ſole Lord, compoſed of the two Natures*; and Anathamatiz'd thoſe that were of a different Sentiment.

This Action of *Vigilius* appear'd ſo heinous in the Eyes of *Baronius*, that he exclaim'd againſt him with all the Bitterneſs the ſenſe of ſo ſacrilegious a Villany could ſuggeſt; and yet afterwards, when upon the Death of *Sylverius*, whom he may juſtly be ſaid to have murder'd, he was confirm'd Pope without a Competitor; this Wolf, this Antichriſt, is by a ſtrange Metamorphoſis become the moſt Holy Vicar of Chriſt; ſo full of wonderful Virtues is the Papal Chair, that, in his Opinion,

it's able to turn Black into White, and transform a Child of Darkneſs into an Angel of Light.

A. D. 538. *The Progreſs of the Emperor's Wars in* Italy.

Whilſt *Beliſarius* was thus preparing for the Defence of *Rome*, he ſent *Conſtantianus* in the mean time to take in the Towns in *Tuſcany*. The Inhabitants of *Calabria* and *Apulia* had ſubmitted to the General, ſo that both the Mediterranean and Maratime Coaſts were reſtor'd to the Obedience of the Empire; for at the ſame time that part of *Samnium* that borders upon the Sea, was ſurrender'd by *Pitzas*, a *Goth*, who, without regard to the publick Intereſt of his Nation, chearfully embrac'd the Cauſe that promis'd the greateſt Succeſs. In the mean while *Vitiges* lay not idle at *Ravenna*, but having rais'd an Army of one hundred and fifty thouſand Men, moſt of 'em good Soldiers, and well arm'd, he prepar'd to march directly for *Rome*, which he was ſorry he ever quitted; and in Contempt of *Beliſarius* his little Army, he imagin'd he ſhould inſtantly recover. Indeed the General, being inform'd how ſtrong the Enemy was, drew as many of the Forces, as could well be ſpar'd, out of the Garriſons to *Rome*: If he evacuated all the Places in *Tuſcany*, the *Goths*, by poſſeſſing themſelves of it, might, in a great meaſure, block up the City; he therefore ſent Orders to *Baſſas* and *Conſtantianus* to leave competent Garriſons in all the defenſible Towns, and then make haſte to join him. *Baſſas*, tho' by Nation a *Goth*, had 'embrac'd the Emperor's Service, and was a brave experienc'd Commander; he had lately recover'd *Narnia*, a City ſtanding upon a high Hill near the *Nar*, about forty Miles diſtant from *Rome*; and ſtaying there ſome time to ſettle it, and put it into a poſture of Defence, he fell in accidentally with the advanc'd Guards of the *Goths*, of whom he kill'd and routed a great number; but being preſs'd upon by their Multitudes, he retir'd into *Narnia*, where

where he left a ſufficient Garriſon, and then haſten'd to *Rome*, to acquaint *Beliſarius* with the Approach of the Enemy. *Vitiges* march'd with as much Expedition as poſſible towards *Rome*, without ſtaying before any of the Towns in *Tuſcany*, which he knew very well provided for a Defence, and would give *Beliſarius* an Opportunity of running away, a thing he very much fear'd; and was extreamly pleas'd when he found he fortify'd himſelf in *Rome*, where he intended to expect his coming, and was indeed ſo far from avoiding, that he was reſolv'd to maintain his Conqueſts at the hazard of his Life. *Beliſarius* had built two Forts upon a Bridge about a Mile from *Rome*, and ſupply'd 'em with a good Body of his Troops, who were to diſpute the Paſſage with the Enemy, 'till the *Romans* had brought in all their Proviſions, and thoſe additional Forces and Supplies he daily expected from the Emperor had join'd him: For he concluded, if the *Goths* receiv'd a Repulſe there, they could not paſs by any other Bridge in twenty Days, and to form a Bridge of Boats would require a longer time. Beſides thoſe two Forts, he deſign'd to lodge ſome Troops near the *Tiber*, who were to diſpute the Paſſage with the Enemy, and make ſome Trial of their Courage: But they who had the Guard of the Bridge were ſeiz'd with ſuch a Pannick Fear, that without any Oppoſition, they quitted their Poſts, and left the Paſſage clear to *Vitiges*, who had paſs'd over a great Part of his Army before *Beliſarius* had the leaſt Apprehenſion of it; for he march'd out the next Morning with a thouſand Horſe to view the Ground near the Bridge, where he might moſt commodiouſly plant his Soldiers, and was ſurpriz'd when he beheld *Vitiges* his Troops marching up againſt him.

*Beliſarius* had in all former Engagements behav'd himſelf with that Caution and Conduct that became a General, and now imagining that thoſe who

who were plac'd in the Forts for the Defence of the Bridge, had been deſtroy'd, he was tranſported beyond his uſual Diſcretion, and ventur'd farther than the Nature of his Place and the preſent poſture of Affairs requir'd, fighting in great Danger at the Head of his Men; who following the Example of their General, bore down with great Fury upon the Enemy. *Beliſarius* his Perſon was diſcover'd by ſome Fugitives to the *Goths*, who therefore directed their whole Force againſt him, and aſſaulted him with their Swords and Lances; which made his own Men more ſollicitous to preſerve and defend him than annoy the Enemy: So that the whole Controverſie for ſome time was only about his Perſon. In concluſion the *Goths* were defeated, and forc'd back to their Camp, where being ſupported by their Foot, who were freſh and unbroken, they turn'd Head againſt the *Romans*, who purſu'd the Chace with more Vigour than Order. By this time *Vitiges* had order'd another Party of Horſe to aſſiſt and relieve thoſe who had been engag'd from the beginning, by whom the *Romans* were not only repuls'd, but cloſely follow'd to the very Gates of the City; where when they were come, the Guard, who had been inform'd by ſome Fugitives that *Beliſarius* was ſlain in the Conflict, refus'd to admit 'em, leſt the *Goths*, taking the Advantage of ſo ſudden a Confuſion, ſhould enter with 'em, and without a Siege become Maſters of the City. Tho' the General himſelf call'd earneſtly out to 'em, and commanded 'em to open the Gates, yet Night approaching, and his Face being ſo diſfigur'd with Blood and Duſt that they could not diſcern him, they refus'd to obey. This reduc'd him to a greater Extremity than he was in before, for he was driven up into a narrower Compaſs, and they charg'd upon him as furiouſly as ever. In this Exigency he had Recourſe to a bold and

*A ſtrange Encounter near* Rome

and dangerous Reſolution; he perſuaded and encourag'd his Men to turn Head, and charge the *Goths* with freſh Vigour, whilſt they were diſorder'd in the Purſuit; which Orders they ſo effectually executed, that the Barbarians, who little expected ſo furious an Onſet from a conquer'd Enemy, imagin'd freſh Troops were ſallying out upon 'em from the City, and ran with great Expedition back towards their Camp; ſo that *Beliſarius*, who would not ſuffer his Soldiers to purſue 'em far, had time to get into the City, where he was known and receiv'd with great Joy, and where he had leiſure to reflect upon his great Deliverance. His Horſe and Armour were almoſt cover'd with Arrows, of whom not one touch'd his Fleſh, which was eſteem'd little leſs than a Miracle by thoſe who had been Witneſſes of the Danger to which he had been that Day expos'd.

Rome beſieg'd by Vitiges.

*Vitiges*, having waſted the Fields lying about *Rome*, came, a Day or two after, and ſate down before it; he divided his numerous Army into ſix Camps, who lying extended on both Sides the *Milvian* Bridge, had thereby free Acceſs, and could direct their Attacks towards what Part they pleas'd. Nor was *Beliſarius* leſs vigilant within than the Enemy was without; the uſeleſs Multitude he ſent out of the City, ſome into *Campania*, others into *Sicily*, and elſewhere; the Walls of the City being of great Extent, and the Soldiers too few to defend every Part againſt ſuch Numbers of Aſſailants, he liſted the poor Artificers, who had no means of Subſiſtance left 'em, and incorporating them with his Troops, allow'd 'em conſtant Pay, by which means he provided for the Neceſſities of the Indigent, recruited his Army, and reliev'd the Sick and Wounded who were unfit for Duty. The Enemy having cut the Aquæducts, being fourteen in Number, he found

out

out other Means to convey Water into the Town; and leſt any of the Inhabitants, who were averſe to the Siege, ſhould have a Deſign by Night upon the Gates, he broke the Keys twice a Month, chang'd the Sentinels every Night, together with the Officers that walk'd the Rounds; caus'd Muſicians to play all Night upon the Ramparts, and employ'd *Moors* conſtantly to lye with Dogs about the Ditch, to diſcover ſuch as approach'd the Walls; in all which he made it appear that he was firmly reſolv'd to hold out to the laſt Extremity: Upon which the Citizens, unacquainted with Want and Hardſhip, aſſembled together in a tumultous manner, railing at *Beliſarius, as one who, without any Regard to the publick Calamities, obſtinately preſumed to defend a Place, by Nature indefenſible, only for the ſake of his own Reputation.* Theſe Murmurs *Vitiges* endeavour'd, by Meſſengers from the Camp, to exaſperate, and drive 'em, if poſſible, into a perfect Mutiny. The Meſſengers, in Preſence of the Senate and Chief Officers of the Army, arrogantly upbraided the General with Temerity and Preſumption; and, extolling much the Power and Bounty of their King, offer'd a ſafe Retreat for him and his Army, and aſſur'd the City of their Maſter's Favour and Protection. Tho' the Citizens were very ready to lay hold of this Act of Grace, yet the Awe and Authority of *Beliſarius* effectually reſtrain'd 'em; ſo that the Meſſengers were diſmiſs'd with no other Anſwer, but that *the General was not to be won or frighted with Words:* Whereupon *Vitiges* prepar'd for the Aſſault, and the Siege was carry'd on with great Obſtinacy on both Sides, in the Management of which *Vitiges* behav'd himſelf like a compleat Soldier, both in Contrivance of his Engines, and Diſpoſition of the Attacks; ſo that the Defendants ſtood in great need of a General ſo wary and experienc'd as *Beliſarius*, who never ſuffer'd the

the Enemy to reſt, but ſally'd forth upon ſuch Advantages, and receiv'd 'em whenever they aſſaulted him with ſo much Conduct, that in ſeven Months time *Vitiges* is ſaid to have loſt above forty thouſand of his *Goths*; at which he was ſo enrag'd, that out of Indignation to be thus unexpectedly oppos'd, he ſlew all the Senators, whom at the Beginning of the War he had carry'd with him to *Ravenna*. The *Romans*, on the other ſide, grew elevated and preſumptuous, and having lately received a Supply from the Emperor of fifteen hundred Horſe, they ſcorn'd to act any longer by Sallies and Surpriſe, and declar'd for a more open and generous Management of the War, which they were for determining at once by a general Battel.

*Beliſarius*, who well knew if ever it came to that, what great Odds he ſhould have againſt him, oppos'd it with all the Arguments his Reaſon and Experience, together with the preſent Circumſtances of Things, could ſuggeſt; but being weary'd with the Importunities both of the Citizens and Soldiers, he at length reſolv'd upon a Battel, which he was deſirous to bring on by ſlight Skirmiſhes and outwardly caſual Excurſions, rather than an Engagement form'd and premeditated on both Sides; but when he found his Attempts that way ineffectual, he then determin'd to fight openly; of which when the *Goths* were inform'd, they were extreamly pleas'd, for they dreaded his Stratagems, which had coſt 'em ſo many Men, and concluded he could have no Opportunity to circumvent 'em in a pitch'd Battel. *Beliſarius*, having with great Care and Prudence prepar'd for the Engagement, and encourag'd his Men to render that Courſe fortunate by their Valour which he had been forc'd upon by their Forwardneſs, led his Army out at two of the City Gates, and fell in two Parties ſo warmly upon the

*Goths*,

*Goths*, that the *Romans* at firſt promis'd themſelves an aſſured Victory; but being overborn by Numbers, they confeſs'd, when it was too late, that their Courage was far inferior to the Wiſdom and Foreſight of their General: ſo that after a great Slaughter on both ſides, they were glad to retire back towards the City, which with great Difficulty they enter'd, leaving *Vitiges* to boaſt of a Victory that coſt him a great many good Soldiers, and was entirely owing to his Superiority in Numbers. Among the *Romans* a great many brave Men were loſt, particularly *Principius*, one of the General's own Guard, and *Tarmutus*, Captain of the *Iſaurians*. *Principius* was cut in pieces in the Rout, and *Tarmutus*, reſcu'd by his Brother *Ennes*, fell down in a Swoon at the Gates, from whence he was carry'd on a Target to his Quarters, where he dy'd of his Wounds two Days after, leaving behind him an immortal Honour, for his great Courage, Zeal and Fidelity to the Emperor, whoſe Service receiv'd a conſiderable Loſs in his Death.

*The Romans, obſtinate to fight, are defeated.*

The *Romans*, being inſtructed by this Leſſon of Experience what they refus'd to learn from the Precepts of their General, were now contented to skirmiſh, as formerly, ſallying out in Parties of Horſe, lin'd with Foot that march'd by their Saddles Skirts, and had always the Advantage over the Barbarians. In theſe Skirmiſhes ſeveral of *Beliſarius* his own Guard did Wonders, to the great Amazement of the *Goths*, who imagin'd the ancient *Roman* Valour, ſo much renown'd by Antiquity, was reviv'd to oppoſe them, and that the Genius of the Empire inſpir'd new Courage into thoſe who generouſly undertook to defend the Place of her Nativity.

In this manner *Beliſarius* weary'd out the Aſſailants, 'till he receiv'd Advice that a Supply of Money to pay the Army was already landed in *Italy*, which

which how to get undiſcover'd into the City, was his principal Care. He march'd out at the Head of his Army, as if he had reſolv'd to try the Fortune of a ſecond Battel: This he did to amuſe the *Goths*, who uniting themſelves into one Body, the better to receive him, had by that Diverſion deſerted the Place through which he had appointed the Treaſure with its Convoy to paſs, by which Means it got ſafe into the City. By this Stratagem he ſucceſsfully remov'd one Evil, yet he ſtill labour'd under others more fatal and pernicious. The City was grievouſly oppreſs'd with Famine, and the Plague rag'd furiouſly in it; and had he not with great Aſſurance perſuaded 'em that he expected ſudden Supplies from the Emperor, that a vaſt Army was approaching, and a Fleet already arriv'd, greater than any *Roman* Eye had ever yet beheld, they had forc'd him to another Battel; ſo far was the Senſe of their preſent Sufferings more prevalent than the Reflections upon their former Miſcarriage. The better to ſupport their drooping Spirits, and add a greater Authority to what he had promis'd 'em, he ſent away *Procopius* the Hiſtorian to *Naples*, who had Orders to command the Soldiers to freight the Ships with Corn, and conduct 'em under a ſufficient Convoy to *Oſtia*. Upon theſe Encouragements he not only reinforc'd his own Garriſon, but by ſeizing on the adjoining Forts and the ſeveral Avenues about the Town, he cut off the Enemies Proviſions, and ſo in ſome meaſure beſieg'd the Beſiegers.

*Freſh Supplies from the Emperor arrive in Italy.*

In the mean time a ſufficient Supply of Men arriv'd at *Naples*, *Otranto*, and other convenient Ports from *Conſtantinople*; and a little before this, ſome hundreds had already reach'd *Rome* by the way of *Samnium*. In their March through *Campania* they were join'd by five hundred Men newly levy'd in that Country, and coaſted along the Shoar, having

many Waggons with them, as well to fortifie themſelves upon Occaſion, as for the convenience of carrying Corn, and other Proviſions. *Beliſarius* having received Intelligence of their Motions, was afraid leſt the *Goths*, who detach'd frequent Parties from their numerous Army, ſhould meet and cut 'em off, and therefore had Recourſe to his uſual Stratagems, in which he ſeldom fail'd. Finding, at the Beginning of the War, that the *Flaminian* Gate was unſerviceable for Sallies, and fearing the Enemy ſhould take the Advantage of that weak Place, and force the City, he took care to have it ramm'd up with Stones, which were now order'd to be remov'd with great Secrecy; and having cautiouſly placed the greateſt Part of his Army nea the Gate, he order'd a Body of Forces to iſſue out at another, who, after a ſlight Skirmiſh, were to counterfeit a Flight, and draw the *Goths* down to that Gate, from whence he unexpectedly fell upon 'em with great Execution, and gave the Supplies an Opportunity of entring without any Loſs or Oppoſition. The *Goths* were ſo thoroughly broken by theſe Diſaſters, that they had loſt all their Courage and Reſolution: the Hopes they had conceived at the beginning, of maſtering the City, were turn'd into ſo many Reflections upon their own Misfortunes. Tho' they had for many Months preſs'd the Town with a ſtrong and powerful Army, yet they lay under greater Hardſhips than the Beſieged themſelves; they were in more want of Proviſion, and no leſs afflicted with the Plague, ſo that the Famine and Peſtilence had exceedingly reduced 'em: At another time, and upon other Occaſions, Numbers might prevail, but they had now to deal with a General, who in Valour, Sagacity and Contrivance, outweigh'd Multitudes. Theſe Conſiderations made 'em all weary of the Service, but more eſpecially when they were inform'd of

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the Forces arriv'd from *Conſtantinople*, the Strength and Power of which, as it is uſual in ſuch caſes, were repreſented to 'em greater than they really were, then they thought of nothing but retreating upon the beſt Terms they could obtain. Accordingly they deputed three Commiſſioners into the City, who were to inſiſt upon the Injuſtice of this Invaſion on the Emperor's part, *Since by Vertue of* Zeno's *Aſſignment to* Theodorich, *they had a lawful Hereditary Claim to the Kingdom of* Italy: *They boaſted, that the Laws and Liberties of the Commonwealth were as tenderly regarded, and preſerv'd under them, as they had heretofore been under the Emperors; that neither* Theodorich, *nor any of his Succeſſors, had ordain'd any new Laws, either written or unwritten; that they had not deny'd the* Italians *a Liberty of Conſcience in Religious Matters, nor infring'd the Immunities of the* Roman *Churches; in a Word, that all Preferments had been enjoy'd by* Romans, *no* Goth *having been preferr'd to any Place of Reputation; particularly, they had ſuffer'd the Conſulſhip to be conferr'd yearly on* Romans, *by the Emperor's peculiar Deſignation. Beliſarius*, inſtead of acknowledging that *Zeno* had conferr'd the Sovereignty of *Italy* upon *Theodorich*, accus'd that Prince *of Ingratitude and Injuſtice, who, like an Uſurper, arrogantly ſeiz'd on that Country himſelf, out of which he had been commiſſion'd by* Zeno *to remove an Uſurper; and bid the Commiſſioners never to think he would upon any Terms be perſuaded to part with the Emperor's Provinces.* They then offer'd to quit *Sicily* to the Empire, which they ſaid *he knew would ſerve as a Check upon* Africk; in Anſwer to which he told 'em, *The Emperor had quitted* Britain *to them, an Iſland of far greater Extent than* Sicily. And to other Offers and Demands, tending much to the ſame purpoſe, he return'd ſuch Anſwers as might aſſure 'em, *They were to expect nothing from*

*him which lay in his Power to deny.* At laſt they deſir'd a Ceſſation of Arms for three Months, in which they might have leiſure to ſend to the Emperor himſelf; which, after ſeveral Meetings on both Sides, was in concluſion agreed upon.

*A Truce agreed upon.*

During this Negotiation the *Romans* found an Opportunity of receiving in the Supplies of Men, Money and Proviſion lately mention'd; by which means *Beliſarius* having firſt furniſh'd *Rome* with a ſufficient Number of Soldiers, he ſent the Supernumeraries out into the Country, where they form'd themſelves into a Flying Camp, watching all Opportunities of incommoding the Beſiegers, or ſeizing on ſuch Places as they could conveniently attempt. This Detachment prov'd very ſerviceable to the Emperor's Affairs, and haſten'd the raiſing the Siege, which had already coſt *Vitiges* ſo many Men, Time and Treaſure; however, he was ſtill intent upon it, and form'd Deſigns againſt the City, tho' the Truce was not yet expir'd. He let ſome Soldiers down into one of the Aquæducts, to diſcover if a Paſſage could be forc'd through it into the Town; they, upon Trial, found a Way direct up into the midſt of the City; but *Beliſarius* having, at the beginning of the Siege, providently rais'd a Work to damm up the Cave, and prevent a Surprize, when they found they could go no farther, they return'd to inform *Vitiges* of what they had ſeen and obſerv'd. In their Paſſage to and fro, one of the Sentinels perceiv'd a Light through a Breach in the Arch, which tho' he and ſome of his Companions, to whom he related his Obſervation, regarded as a Matter of no Moment, yet when it accidentally came to the General's Ear, he was too ſagacious to ſlight a Hint that might prove of ſo great a Conſequence; he therefore order'd ſome of his Men to enter the Aquæduct, who quickly found, by ſome pieces of Lamps, and ſeveral drop-

*Vitiges his Stratagems defeated.*

pings

pings of Torches, that it was a thing not to be deſpis'd; whereupon *Beliſarius* plac'd a ſtrong Guard upon the Aquæduct, which when the *Goths* obſerv'd, they deſiſted from any farther Attempts of that Nature, and prepar'd for a general Aſſault, in which they were diſcover'd through the Vigilancy of the Officer who commanded the Watch, and repuls'd with Diſgrace. This Diſappointment made *Vitiges* apply himſelf to another Stratagem; he corrupted two *Romans* to intoxicate with a ſleepy Potion, infus'd into ſome Wine, the Sentinels that kept Guard upon the Wall towards the *Tiber*, which part of the City was the leaſt ſecur'd, becauſe the Inhabitants truſted to the natural Fortifications of the River. So ſoon as the Infuſion began to work, which was deſign'd to be about Midnight, they were to give a Signal to the *Goths* on the oppoſite Shore, who were to paſs over and ſcale the Walls; and *Vitiges* had prepar'd the whole Army for a pretended Storm, the better to favour their Undertaking. But this Deſign being diſcover'd by one of the Conſpirators, the other, who had the Drug about him, was firſt tortur'd, after which they cut off his Noſe and Ears, and then ſent him upon an Aſs into the Camp of the *Goths*, who acknowledg'd the Hand of God was againſt 'em in this Diſcovery of all their Deſigns form'd againſt the City, and were for that reaſon inclinable to raiſe the Siege, which they found themſelves oblig'd to do not long after for the Preſervation of *Ravenna*; for thoſe Troops *Beliſarius* had ſome time before detach'd from *Rome*, under the Command of *John*, the Marſhal of his Army, had waſted all *Picenum*, kill'd *Ulitheus*, Uncle to *Vitiges*, and ſeiz'd on *Rimini*; the Loſs of which, being but a Day's Journey from *Ravenna*, threaten'd that Place with the like Fortune, unleſs ſome Care was taken for the Security of it; whereupon the *Goths*,

ſtartled at the Report, and in great want of Proviſions, after they had lain above a Year before *Rome*, during which time the Flower of their Army was, in a great meaſure, deſtroy'd, burnt their Huts and rais'd the Siege; which could not be done ſo ſecretly, but *Beliſarius*, having notice of it, charg'd them ſo warmly in their Retreat, that great numbers of 'em were deſtroy'd by the *Romans* Swords, and as many periſh'd in the River, into which, as they preſs'd and crowded to eſcape, they fell, and ſunk with their heavy Armour upon 'em.

*The* Goths *raiſe the Siege.*

IV. And ſo with Shame, Diſhonour, and Diminution of his Power, *Vitiges* return'd towards *Ravenna*, putting ſtrong Garriſons into all the Places in his Paſſage, and directing his March to *Rimini*, which being a Town of ſuch great Conſequence, he was reſolv'd to force out of the Enemy's Hands, and ſo prepar'd to beſiege it. *Beliſarius*, who was not ignorant of his Deſign, took care to have ſuch Supplies put into the City, as could well be ſpar'd, and his Orders were executed with ſo much Expedition, that *Ildeger* and *Martinus*, two *Roman* Officers, threw themſelves into the Town with a competent Body of Foot, which they had drawn out of *Ancona*, a City ſtanding upon the *Ionian* Gulph, two Days Journey from *Rimini*. *John*, a brave experienc'd Commander, and one who had been of great Service to the Emperor in his Wars, was already in the Town, where he commanded in Chief, tho' he had receiv'd Orders from *Beliſarius* to riſe with the Horſe from thence, for he concluded he might do more Service at the Head of the Cavalry abroad, than in the Town; however *John* would not forſake the Place, but reſolv'd to defend it in Perſon, at which *Beliſarius* was highly diſpleas'd; and this, among other Matters, gave a begin-

beginning to the Jealouſies that ſhortly after broke out between him and *Narſes*.

*Vitiges* at firſt thought to carry the Town by main Force; and accordingly, as ſoon as he ſate down before it, began to batter it with his Rams, and other warlike Engines, in the Invention of which he was very fortunate; but *John* manag'd the Defence with ſo much Induſtry and Experience, that he found it almoſt impoſſible to take it by Storm, and therefore reſolv'd to ſtarve out the Enemy, who he knew were in great want of all manner of Proviſion, and in no probability of being reliev'd; and ſo the Siege was protracted longer than either he intended, or the *Romans* expected. Vitiges *Beſieges* Rimini;

In the mean time *Beliſarius* was buſied in another Quarter of *Italy*, for he detach'd a thouſand Men from his Forces, who, under the Command of *Mundilas*, had Orders to March towards *Milan*, which City he hop'd they would reduce, at leaſt he intended by it to transfer the War into the Enemy's Country. *Mundilas* took *Milan* without any Oppoſition, and in a ſhort time made himſelf Maſter of all *Liguria*, being now the Territories of the State of *Genoa*, to the no ſmall Mortification of *Vitiges*, who ſent *Uraiah*, his Nephew, at the Head of a powerful Army, to recover it out of the Hands of the *Romans*. *Uraiah*, with the Aſſiſtance of ten thouſand *Burgundians*, ſent him by *Theodebert*, King of the *Franks*, ſo ſtraitly beſieg'd *Milan*, that the *Romans*, in a ſhort time, were reduc'd to the laſt Extremity; which, together with the Miſunderſtanding between *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, occaſion'd the Loſs of the City, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. *and* Uraiah Milan.

For the Summer following, whilſt *Vitiges* continu'd ſtill before *Rimini*, and his Nephew *Uraiah*, before *Milan*, the Emperor ſent freſh Supplies of Men and Money into *Italy*, under the Con- A. D. 540. Narſes *ſent into* Italy.

duct of this *Narſes*, who was a Man of great Authority both in the Camp and Court, for he was a good Soldier, and an experienc'd Stateſman. At *Firmum*, a City ſtanding on the Adriatick, both Armies joyn'd, and a Council of War was immediately call'd, wherein they deliberated what Courſe was beſt to be taken for the Emperor's Service. *Auximum*, a ſtrong well fortify'd Town, was ſtill Garriſon'd by the Enemy, who from thence might fall upon the Backs of the Imperialiſts, and harraſs the Country inhabited by the *Romans*, ſhould they move from thence to the Relief of *Rimini*. On the other Hand, it was thought unreaſonable to ſuffer the Beſieg'd to periſh for want of Aſſiſtance; tho' moſt of the Officers were incens'd againſt *John*, who had unadviſedly thruſt himſelf into ſuch imminent Danger out of a Thirſt of Wealth, and diſobey'd the General's Orders; however *Narſes*, who had a very great Reſpect for him, earneſtly preſs'd to have the Army march to *Rimini*, from whence Letters arriv'd in the very Criſis, wherein *John* declar'd, *That unleſs he was reliev'd within ſeven Days, he muſt of neceſſity deliver up the Place.*

*Beliſarius* found it no eaſie thing to contend with ſo many Difficulties; he was unwilling to loſe *Rimini*, and as unwilling to leave the Country about *Auximum* to the Mercy of the *Goths*, who would, without fail, endeavour to deſtroy it, and thereby endanger his Army in caſe of a Battel. To provide therefore the beſt he could againſt both Inconveniences, he left a thouſand Men under the Command of *Aratius* by the Sea ſide, who were to keep the Garriſon of *Auximum* in awe, and ſent ſome Forces by Sea with Orders to ſail directly to *Rimini*, and to land near the Foot, which *Martinus* was directed to conduct along the Shore; when they approach'd the Enemy he commanded 'em

'em to make great Fires, the better to terrifie the *Goths* with a false Apprehension of their Numbers, whilst he, with *Narses*, and the rest of the Army, march'd at a distance from the Sea by the way of the Mountains, with a Resolution not to hazard a Battel, both because the Enemy were superior in Number, and render'd desperate by their late Misfortunes. This Division of his Forces, and his Stratagems, had the Effect he desir'd; for some of the *Goths* that were straggling abroad, fell by chance upon a Party of his Men, and observing the main Body appear upon the Mountains, they hasten'd back to the Camp, where they reported the *Romans* were marching with an innumerable Army to the Relief of the City. Whereupon *Vitiges* prepar'd for a Battel, apprehending no Danger but from the North, and the Tops of the Mountains; but when the Night following he obsery'd the Fires kindled by *Martinus* to the East of the City, he immediately concluded he should be unavoidably surrounded by the Enemy, especially when in the Morning he beheld the Fleet, which was bearing down directly towards him; this struck him with so much Consternation, that he grew incapable of Counsel, and his whole Army was seiz'd with so much Terror, that, regardless of all Command, every Man grew intent upon his own Safety, and thought of nothing but securing himself in *Ravenna*; they fled away in so much haste, that they left the greatest part of their Baggage behind 'em; and had not the Besieged been feeble and heartless, for want of Sustenance, they might easily have cut 'em off in the disorderly Retreat, and made an end of the War at once.

Rimini *Reliev'd by* Belisarius.

After this Success the Jealousies that appear'd before between the two Generals were improv'd to an open Rupture. *Narses*, tho' for the most

part he was a Perſon of a juſt and generous Temper, yet kept his Ears too open to the Inſinuations of his flattering Dependants, who extoll'd his Power and Parts, and perſuaded him that it was beneath his Worth to be accountable to the Authority of any other General whatſoever. *Beliſarius*, who was ſoon made ſenſible of theſe pernicious Practices, endeavour'd to divert that malignant Humour by Action, and therefore in a Council of War, propos'd, *That part of the Army ſhould march towards* Milan, *which was cloſely beſieged by* Uraiah, *who held all* Liguria *at his Devotion, whilſt the reſt march'd to* Auximum, *where the* Goths *had a great and gallant Army, and held ſeveral other Places as far as* Urbiventum, *a City not far from* Rome, *each of which were able to contend with the whole Power of the Emperor.* *Narſes* excepted againſt this with much Heat, and the Diſpute was carry'd on between them ſo long, 'till *Beliſarius* produc'd the Emperor's Letters, wherein he declar'd, *He had not ſent* Narſes *into* Italy *to Command his Forces, but, together with the reſt of his Officers, be ſubſervient to* Beliſarius, *and obſerve his Orders in all things that related to his Service, and the good of the State*; theſe laſt Words *Narſes* inſiſted upon, and endeavour'd to prove, *Obedience was due to* Beliſarius *no longer than it appear'd his Actions concurr'd with the common Intereſt of the Empire.*

Theſe Diſputes and Animoſities rais'd ſuch a Diviſion among the General Officers, as very much retarded the Progreſs of the Emperor's Affairs; for *Beliſarius* having detach'd *Peranius* with part of the Forces to beſiege *Urbiventum*, he march'd with the reſt againſt *Urbinum*, diſtant about a Day's Journey from *Rimini*, ſituate upon a Hill, and render'd ſtrong as well by Art as Nature. *Narſes* and *John* follow'd in the Rear, but encamp'd at a diſtance from him, and were of ſo little Service in the Siege, that before

fore the Rams were apply'd, or any Attack prepar'd, they withdrew by Night, and return'd with part of the Army to *Rimini*, notwithſtanding all Motives, Entreaties and Perſuaſions the General could uſe to the contrary; for *John* having been formerly baffled before the Place, they pretended the Town was impregnable, and that *Beliſarius* at once ſhow'd his Obſtinacy and Temerity, in his Attempt upon it. The Departure of ſo many Men greatly diſcourag'd thoſe that continu'd behind, and ſtrengthen'd the Reſolution of the Defendants: Notwithſtanding which, *Beliſarius* proceeded with great Conſtancy of Mind, and prepar'd for an Aſſault; but as the Aſſailants were ready to approach, the Beſieg'd hung out a Flag, and upon a Promiſe of Indemnity, ſurrender'd. The *Romans* were much elated at this unexpected Submiſſion, for at firſt they thought it entirely owing to the Terror of their Arms, tho' it appear'd afterwards to proceed from another Cauſe more prevalent; for the only Fountain the *Goths* had in the City, dry'd up of it ſelf, by which unforeſeen Accident they were forc'd to drink thick, unwholſome Water, which bred a Sickneſs among 'em.

*Narſes*, who lay idle in *Rimini*, was amaz'd at this ſudden Succeſs, and being ſenſible that what he had done, had ſubjected him to the publick Cenſure, endeavour'd by Action to redeem his Reputation; and therefore ſent *John* out againſt *Ceſina*, a City built upon the Banks of the *Rubicon*; before which being repuls'd, he ſurpris'd the ancient City of *Forum Cornelii*, in the ſame Diſtrict, and call'd at preſent *Imola*, and ſhortly after recover'd all *Æmilia*; for the *Roman* Arms were grown ſo terrible to the *Goths*, through the continu'd Succeſs of this War, that they had not the Courage to ſtand an Engagement with them.

All this while *Milan* was closely press'd by *Uraiah* and the *Burgundians*; *Mundilas* commanded the Garrison in the Town, and took care to send for timely Assistance to *Belisarius*, who immediately dismiss'd *Martinus* and *Uliaris* with a strong Body of Forces to relieve the City. These Generals advancing as far as the *Po*, a Day's Journey from *Milan*, encamp'd upon the Banks of that River, and tho' earnestly sollicited by the Besieg'd to hasten their Assistance, they excus'd themselves by Letters to the General, pretending *the* Goths *were too powerful for 'em in* Liguria, *and therefore they were afraid to proceed farther 'till they were join'd by more Forces.* Hereupon *John* receiv'd Orders from *Belisarius* to join *Martinus* with all Expedition, which *John* peremptorily refus'd to do, unless he received the like Orders from *Narses*, to whom *Belisarius* writ upon that Subject, *beseeching him not to cause the Emperor's Affairs to suffer through their unseasonable Emulation.* Tho' *Narses* was convinc'd of the Reasonableness of this Remonstrance, and by Letters commanded *John* to obey the General's Orders, yet these Negotiations took up so long time, that *Mundilus* was forc'd by his Soldiers to submit to the Conditions offer'd by the *Goths*, who promis'd to indemnifie the *Romans*, but vow'd to destroy all the *Ligurians*; the City was accordingly surrender'd, and *Mundilas* and the Garrison made Prisoners of War, in breach of the Articles agreed upon: The City was demolish'd, and the Inhabitants, to the Number of three hundred thousand, were murder'd; the Senators, Priests, and other Ecclesiasticks, that had taken Sanctuary in the Churches, were butcher'd before the Altars; the Women ravish'd, and made Slaves to the *Burgundians*; *Raparatus*, a Præfect, was cut in pieces, and cast to the Dogs; *Dacius*, the renown'd Bishop of the Place, escap'd with the melancholy News to *Constantinople*;

Milan *surrender'd to the* Goths.

*Their Barbarity.*

ſtantinople; and *Martinus* and *Uliaris* return'd with Shame and Diſhonour towards *Rome*, whilſt the *Goths*, in Confidence of their Succeſs, purſu'd their good Fortune, and ſpeedily reduc'd all *Liguria*.

The Monks that write of thoſe Times have attributed ſeveral Miracles to this *Dacius* and other *Italian* Biſhops, his Contempories; which are for the moſt part ſo abſurd in their Circumſtances, and ſo trivially deſign'd, that the greateſt Wonder is, how they could ſo impudently preſume to impoſe upon the World.

During the Fury of theſe Wars the Earth was left uncultivated, which occaſion'd a moſt horrible Famine almoſt throughout all *Italy*. In ſome Places they were forc'd to make Bread of Acorns, which engender'd ſeveral Diſtempers, mortal to thoſe that fed upon it. No leſs than fifty thouſand Perſons are ſaid to have been ſtarv'd in the *Picentin*: Several Perſons, by a voluntary Death, prevented the Torments of a lingering Famine: Some Mothers, in the Bitterneſs of Hunger, murder'd and devour'd their own Infants: Several that ſtoop'd to eat Graſs, being unable to pluck it up, fell upon their Heads, and dy'd with ſome of it in their Mouths. There was no care had of Burials, thoſe that ſurviv'd being unable to provide for, or protect the deceas'd, whom however the Birds of Prey refus'd to approach, there being no Fleſh left upon the Corps to gratify their Appetites. Two Women living in a Houſe accuſtom'd to entertain Paſſengers, kill'd ſeventeen while they ſlept, as they came one after another to lodge with them, and devour'd 'em; but the eighteenth, who was inform'd of their Barbarity, pretended himſelf a Gueſt, and in the dead of Night diſpatch'd 'em both. *A grievous Famine.*

*Beliſarius*, as ſoon as he was inform'd of the Loſs of *Milan*, and the great Misfortunes that attended it, baniſh'd *Uliaris* from his Preſence, and gave the Emperor

Emperor an impartial Account of the whole Matter. *Juſtinian*, being unwilling to offend any of his Generals, for whom he had now ſo much Buſineſs, without calling any Man to an Account, contented himſelf with ſending for *Narſes* home, and thereby prevent the Miſchiefs ariſing from the unhappy Contentions between him and *Beliſarius*, whom he confirm'd in the abſolute Command over his Arms in *Italy*. *Vitiges*, who promis'd himſelf mighty Advantages from the Diſagreement between the Generals, found his Hopes defeated by this prudent Conduct of the Emperor, and grew more in fear of *Beliſarius*, who he knew was preparing with all his Forces to beſiege him, the Spring following, in *Ravenna*: He knew the *Romans* were grown hardy and courageous by their repeated Victories, by which the *Goths*, on the other ſide, were quite broken and diſhearten'd.

At firſt, therefore, he endeavour'd to engage *Varis*, King of the *Lombards*, in his Quarrel; but finding him firm to his Alliance concluded lately with the Emperor, he perſuaded *Choſroes*, King of *Perſia*, to invade the *Roman* Territories, concluding that ſuch an *Enemy* was able to give *Juſtinian* a powerful Diverſion, and make him recall *Beliſarius*, and give over any farther Care for the Dominions of the Empire in the Weſt, ſince the Security and Defence of the Eaſtern Territories were of a far greater Conſequence to his Intereſt and Reputation. *Choſroes*, who had agreed to the Peace before-mention'd, more out of regard to his own Security, than any Affection to the Emperor, repented of what he had done, when he beheld the great Proſperity of the Emperor's Affairs in *Africk*, and thought it chiefly owing to the late Treaty between the two Crowns; however being terrify'd by ſome Conſpiracies which he about that time diſcover'd againſt his own Perſon and Dignity, he thought it ſafe to

Vitiges *engages* Choſroes *in his Quarrel*

ſit

ſit ſtill; and demanded only, in a merry Embaſſy, his Share in the *Vandal* Spoils, ſince by the Peace he had contributed ſo largely to the Conqueſt. *Juſtinian*, who thought it unadviſable to diſoblige him, return'd a friendly Anſwer, and a conſiderable Preſent in Money. For the Peace was at that time ſeaſonable to the Emperor's Affairs, not only in reſpect of the *African* War, but becauſe *John*, a Soldier in the Garriſon of *Daras*, had juſt then revolted, and ſet up for himſelf. This Uſurpation had undoubtedly been of very ill Conſequence to the Empire, had *Choſroes* made uſe of the Opportunity, and ſupported the Uſurper; but *Juſtinian's* Miniſters ſo well temporis'd with that Prince, that he refus'd to aſſiſt the Rebels, ſo that *John* was eaſily ſuppreſs'd, and ſlain a few Days after his Uſurpation. But tho' *Choſroes* could ſo eaſily digeſt the Conqueſt of *Africk*, yet he conſider'd the Reduction of *Italy* with Thoughts fuller of Apprehenſion, and conceiv'd it a Member too conſiderable to be re-united to the Empire; which would, by ſuch an Acceſſion, he reſtor'd to her former Vigour, and recover her native Sovereignty. For theſe Reaſons he watch'd all Opportunities for a Quarrel; and when *Vitiges* his Ambaſſadors arriv'd, and in a ſet Speech perſuaded him, *That if he ſate neuter, and beheld them deſtroy'd, he would unavoidably be undone himſelf*; without conſidering how much Intereſt they had in the Counſels they gave him, he reſolv'd upon a Rupture, to the great Satisfaction of *Vitiges*; who however receiv'd little or no Advantage from it, tho' it put a ſtop to the Progreſs of *Juſtinian's* Arms in *Italy*, out of which he was fore'd to call *Beliſarius*, tho' not 'till he had fully ſettled his Authority in thoſe Parts.

*Auximum Beſieg'd by Beliſarius.*

For purſuing the courſe of his Fortunes, he ſate down with eleven thouſand Men before *Auximum*, the Metropolis of *Picenia*, ſtanding within ten

ten Miles of the *Adriatick*, and ſomething more than three Days Journey from *Ravenna*, ſtrongly ſituated, and provided with a very good Garriſon; at the ſame time he ſent another Party, under the Command of *Cyprian*, one of his Lieutenants, to beſiege *Feſulæ*, a Place in the *Apennine* Straights, and which, together with *Auximum*, open'd a Paſſage to *Ravenna*, whither *Beliſarius* reſolv'd to follow *Vitiges*.

A. D. 539. *The* Franks *Invade* Italy.

Whilſt *Beliſarius* was buſy'd in the Siege of *Auximum*, and *Vitiges* by frequent Meſſengers from the Beſieg'd ſollicited to relieve it, the *Franks*, concluding both Nations ſufficiently weaken'd by their mutual Hoſtilities, invaded *Italy* with an Army of one hundred thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Theodebert*; who, in Violation of his late Oaths made, as well to the *Goths* as the Emperor, reſolv'd to attack both, and ſo put an end to the Controverſy, by ſeizing on that for which both Parties with ſo much Earneſtneſs contended. The *Goths* were highly pleas'd when they beheld the *Franks* marching over the *Alps* into *Liguria*, certainly concluding that they were moving to their Aſſiſtance; and this Opinion was confirm'd by the *Franks*, who abſtain'd from any hoſtile Act, whilſt they continu'd in that Country, moving directly towards the *Po*, their Paſſage over which would be much facilitated, if they adminiſter'd no Grounds of Jealouſie to the Inhabitants: And herein they ſucceeded ſo well, that they receiv'd frequent Aſſiſtance in their march from the *Goths*, who permitted 'em to paſs the River near *Pavia* without any Oppoſition. But having by this means ſecur'd the Bridge and Paſſage, they ſeiz'd upon the *Gothick* Women and Children, as the firſt Fruits of the War; at which the *Goths* were ſo terrify'd, that they fled with great Conſternation into the Town, whilſt the *Franks* paſs'd on to the Camp, where, through the

ſame

same Mistake, they were kindly receiv'd, 'till by their barbarous Behaviour they declar'd themselves their Enemies; whereupon they fled by the *Roman* Camp into *Ravenna*. The *Romans*, who were encamp'd over-against them, observing the Rout, thought they had been defeated by *Belisarius*, with whom they resolv'd to join in the Chace; but being as cruelly treated as the *Goths* had been, and unable to recover their Camp, they fled into *Tuscany*, and sent their General an Account of their Misfortune. Thus both Camps fell into the Hands of the *Franks*, in which they found Provisions sufficient for their present Supply, and they had done wisely if they had retreated with their Booty; but piercing on into a desolate exhausted Country, destitute both of Corn and Wine, they were forc'd to feed upon Beef, their only Nourishment, and drink unwholsome Water, and that being unable to digest their Food, threw 'em into a Dysentery, of which above a third of their Army is said to have perish'd, and the rest were become unable to proceed farther. *Belisarius* reproach'd *Theodebert*, in his Letters, for Breach of Faith to the Emperor, *Since he had been so far from assisting him, in pursuance of his Treaty, that he had set upon and defeated his Troops; an Action unworthy a Christian, and so great a Prince:* Telling him, in conclusion, *That the Emperor's Affairs were not in so weak a Condition, but that he should be able to revenge so egregious an Affront at a time convenient.* Whether this Prince was terrify'd at the Letter, and so repented of what he had done, or touch'd with the Reproaches of his Subjects, who murmur'd for that he had brought 'em to die like Dogs, in a barren impoverish'd Country, or call'd home by some domestick Commotions, he rose up and return'd, leaving behind him terrible Instances of his Cruelty throughout *Liguria*, for he destroy'd *Genoa* and several other adjacent Places. In

*and seize the Gothick and Roman Camps.*

In the mean time the two Garriſons of *Auximum* and *Feſulæ* held out with great Reſolution, tho' they ſtruggled with many Difficulties, and had no other Support but *Vitiges* his Promiſe of an immediate Relief. *Feſulæ* was cloſely block'd up by *Cyprian*, that no Proviſions could poſſibly be carry'd into the Town, ſo that the Beſieged, after a long Expectation of being ſuccour'd, were forc'd to ſurrender; and *Cyprian*, leaving a Party ſufficient in the Town, brought the Inhabitants before *Auximum*, where *Beliſarius* ſhow'd 'em to the Beſieged, and gave 'em thereby an Opportunity of conſidering what they were to expect, and how uncapable the King was to relieve them. Their Bodies were before weaken'd with Famine, and the Fate of *Feſulæ* had now ſo much operated upon their Minds, that they were contented to deliver up the Town, on condition they might enjoy their Lives and Subſtance. This the General was inclinable to grant, but the Soldiers oppos'd it, declaring *the Wealth of the City was deſervedly theirs, in Conſideration of their Wounds and Labours.* At length it was agreed on both Sides, that the Soldiers ſhould have half, and that the other half ſhould be continu'd to the Beſieg'd, who were to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor; accordingly *Beliſarius* was receiv'd with the *Romans* into the City, from whence he march'd with the whole Army towards *Revenna*, and proceeded with ſo much Forwardneſs and Succeſs in the Siege, that the Kings of *France*, particularly *Theodebert*, knowing in what extremity *Vitiges* was, and diſdaining to ſuffer the *Romans* to recover their Dominions in *Italy*, by their Ambaſſadors offer'd him a powerful Aſſiſtance, conſiſting of no leſs than five hundred thouſand Men, on Condition they might have a ſhare in the Country with him. *Beliſarius*, being inform'd of this Negotiation, ſent and repreſented to *Vitiges* on one

*Auximum ſurrender'd.*

A. D. 540.

one side the Valour of the *Romans*, *which was not to be over-power'd by Numbers*; on the other, he reminded him of the Perfidy of the *Franks*, *who had given him a bloody Instance of it in their last Year's Expedition*; *and that consequently it was safer for him to embrace the Friendship of the* Romans, *who were ready to admit him upon Terms very just and honourable*. *Vitiges*, upon a serious Deliberation in Council, dismiss'd the Ambassadors with a Refusal, and grew inclinable to an Accommodation with the Emperor; who being inform'd how Affairs stood in *Italy*, sent two Senators, who offer'd *Vitiges*, on *Justinian's* part, half the Revenue, and the Dominion of the Country on this side the *Po*; and the Propofals were so acceptable to *Vitiges*, that he readily embrac'd 'em; but when the matter was fully concerted on both sides, *Belisarius* refus'd at first to sign the Treaty, and still press'd the *Goths* so closely, that they found it impossible to hold out any longer; notwithstanding which, and tho' they were grown weary of *Vitiges*, yet they were unwilling to submit to the Emperor, for fear they should be transported to *Constantinople*, and forc'd to settle in *Thrace*; whereupon the *Gothick* Nobility agreed among themselves to declare *Belisarius* Emperor of the West, and accordingly sent their Agents privately to him, who had Commission to assure him they were ready, and willing to swear Allegiance to him Tho' *Belisarius*, in regard of his Oath formerly made to *Justinian*, was resolv'd never to attempt any Innovation during the Life of that Emperor, yet he outwardly seem'd to accept of the Offer, the better to facilitate his Design upon the City, and confirm his Master's Authority; accordingly he negotiated so successfully with them, that at their own Request he was receiv'd into *Ravenna*, which he enter'd in a Triumphant manner at the Head of his Army, which appear'd

*The* Goths *purpose to declare* Belisarius *Emperor of the West.*

A. D. 540.

Belisarius *receiv'd into* Ravenna.

appear'd ſo inconſiderable for its Numbers, that the *Gothick* Women could not forbear ſpitting in their Husbands Faces at the ſight of 'em; for they had pretended to 'em that the *Romans* were more numerous, that they were ſtout in their Perſons, and for their Courage invincible. *Procopius*, who beheld this Entry, gives it as an Inſtance that Human Affairs are not conducted by Multitudes, nor does Succeſs depend upon Force or Valour, but that all our Actions are influenc'd and directed by ſome ſuperior, invincible Power, who governs all things by his own irreſiſtible Will.

*Beliſarius* being by theſe means become Maſter of *Ravenna*, ſecur'd the reſt of the Towns thereabouts, which readily ſurrender'd, and ſo all *Italy* was, in a great meaſure, reſtor'd to the Emperor's Obedience; however, he behav'd himſelf with much Moderation towards the *Goths*, for he ſuffer'd the Soldiers to plunder none of the Inhabitants, but ſeiz'd on the Royal Treaſure, which, together with *Vitiges*, whom he kept in honourable Reſtraint, he intended to carry with him to *Conſtantinople*, whither he was recall'd by the Emperor to take upon him the Management of the *Perſian* War, which requir'd a General of his Capacity; tho' it has been upon good Grounds conjectur'd, that ſome Jealouſies the Emperor had, at the Inſtigation of his Court Sycophants, entertain'd concerning him, were the chief Motives of his Revocation. Indeed he was Maſter of thoſe extraordinary Virtues, which uſually attract the Envy of ſuch as are unable to imitate 'em, ſo that it's no wonder if they took care to render him ſuſpected to his Maſter, whom they were angry any one was better able or willing to ſerve than themſelves, tho' he never appear'd, in the leaſt Reſpect, fond of any Innovation, but, on the contrary, continu'd deaf to the repeated Remonſtrances of the *Goths*, who earneſtly

*He is recall'd out of* Italy.

earnestly sollicited him to accept of the Crown. However, he was receiv'd at *Constantinople* with a Respect due to his extraordinary Merit, the People beholding him with Esteem and Admiration, as one that had highly deserv'd of his Country, which he had enrich'd with the Treasure of two Potent Princes, *Genserich* and *Theodorich*, and honour'd with the Presence of two Royal Captives, *Gelimer* and *Vitiges*. The Emperor receiv'd him without the least Tokens of a Distrust, and with great Demonstrations of his Royal Favour, he treated *Vitiges* with a Respect answerable to his Birth and Dignity, confer'd on him the Honour of a Patrician, and sent him to Command his Troops quarter'd upon the Frontiers of *Persia*.

V. This Year, as it was famous for *Belisarius* his Triumphant Return to *Constantinople*, so was it no less remarkable, for that it was the last in which any Person exercis'd the Office of Consul; which Dignity, after it had been successfully executed for the space of one thousand and forty seven Years, determin'd this Year in *Basilius*, the last that ever bore that Honour; it being abolish'd by the Advice of *Trebonian*, for no other Reason, but because he never had Interest enough to be advanc'd to it. It's true, that after the Sovereign Power resided in the Persons of the Emperors, the Consulate was in reality no other than an honorary Title, and faint Resemblance of the ancient Power of the *Roman* Consuls, who heretofore made the Earth to tremble; from henceforward the Years were computed, at first, by the first, second, &c. after the Consulate of *Basilius*, but shortly after they began to reckon by the Years of the Emperor's Reign, who usually declar'd himself Consul the first Day of his Empire, and *Justinian* enter'd upon the fifteenth of his, the first of *August*, this present Year. A. D. 541. *The Consulate ends.*

In the mean time the War waxed very hot in the East, where the *Persians* had gain'd very considerable Advantages against the *Romans*, before *Belisarius* could arrive out of *Italy* to take the Command of the Army upon him. It was preceded by an amazing Comet, appearing about that time in *Capricorn*, at first seemingly about a Man's length in extent, afterwards much longer, with its Tail pointed towards the East; and by another Irruption of the *Hunns*, who, tho' formerly they had been very outrageous, never did so much Mischief as at this time. For having pass'd the *Ister*, they wasted all the Country up as far as *Constantinople*, took thirty two Castles in *Illyricum*, destroy'd *Cassandria*, call'd anciently *Potidæa*, after which they return'd home loaden with Spoils, and one hundred and thirty thousand Captives. These Calamities, and a Presumption that *Justinian* was grown jealous of *Belisarius*, whom he would no longer trust with an absolute Command in his Wars, together with some Advantages the rebellious *Armenians* had obtain'd over the *Romans*, encourag'd *Chosroes*, at the Instigation of *Vitiges*, to proceed to an open Rupture; accordingly, in the thirteenth Year of *Justinian*, he invaded the *Roman* Territories with a very powerful Army, directing his Course towards *Syria* and *Cilicia*, burning and destroying all before him, whilst *Buzes*, who commanded in the East, instead of providing for the Defence of the Provinces, shamefully deserted his Post, and withdrew no one knew whither, leaving *Chosroes* at liberty to make what Conditions he thought fit with *Berrhæa*, *Hierapolis*, and the adjacent Cities, from whom he exacted most unreasonable Contributions; after which he went and besieg'd *Antioch*, which, after a short Resistance, he master'd. Tho' the City had often felt the Weight of Divine Vegeance in preceding Times,

*An amazing Comet.*

Chosroes *Invades the* Roman *Territories,*

*and takes* Antioch,

Times, yet it never was pour'd out in ſo heavy a meaſure upon 'em before; the *Perſians*, in the heat of their Conqueſt, ſparing neither Age nor Sex; and thoſe who ſurviv'd the firſt Fury, were made Slaves by the King's Command, who gave the Town up for a Spoil to his Soldiers. He himſelf ſeiz'd on the immenſe Treaſure of the Church, and commanded the greateſt Rarities of the City to be taken down, and tranſported into *Perſia*, after which he ſet Fire to the Town, and deſtroy'd it. *and deſtroys it.*

Thus periſh'd the largeſt, the richeſt, the moſt populous, beautiful, and happy City of the Eaſt, by the Hands of the moſt impious Man of that Age, who was the Inſtrument of God's Vengeance upon a luxurious, ungrateful, ſtubborn, and rebellious People.

*Juſtinian* complain'd loudly by his Ambaſſadors againſt theſe Proceedings, charging *Choſroes* with Perfidy and Barbarity; in Anſwer to which *Choſroes* ſuggeſted many ſpecious Pretences, which ſhow'd him more influenc'd to a Rupture by his own Ambition, than urg'd to it by any Provocation; however, after many Recriminations on both ſides, a Truce was agreed upon, and *Choſroes*, in Conſideration of a great Sum of Money, promis'd to return into his own Country, where new Ambaſſadors were to be ſent from the Emperor, who were to change the Truce into a firm and laſting Peace. Accordingly *Choſroes* march'd back, but, in Defiance of the Treaty, robb'd all the Cities as he paſs'd, and croſſing the River *Euphrates*, rifled *Meſopotamia* in his Paſſage. He had a great Deſire to make himſelf Maſter of *Edeſſa*, the Metropolis of *Oſrhoene*, for no reaſon more than to elude a certain Tradition then in Requeſt among the Chriſtians of thoſe Parts, by which they were confident it never was to be taken by an Enemy, for that it was render'd impregnable by a Letter our

Saviour is ſaid to have ſent to *Agbarus*, at that time Governor of the Country, in which he promis'd the City ſhould never be ſubject to Barbarians; which Letter, *Procopius* affirms, but upon what Authority is not eaſily determin'd, the Inhabitants had engrav'd upon the Gates of the City for the better Security of the Place. Whether that or ſome other Reaſon reſtrain'd him, he attempted nothing againſt the City, but ſatisfy'd himſelf with a Sum of Money, which preſerv'd that and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages.

Theſe Actions of *Choſroes* highly provok'd *Juſtinian*, who declar'd that he had broken the Peace, and therefore refus'd to ſtand to the Ratification; ſo that Preparations were made for a War on both ſides, eſpecially upon *Beliſarius* his Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, where he was declar'd General by the Emperor againſt the *Perſians*, and prepar'd to take the Field the Spring following. In the mean time the *Perſians* ſo effectually tamper'd with the *Lazians*, that they withdrew themſelves from the Emperor's Obedience, and declar'd for *Choſroes*. Theſe were Inhabitants of *Colchis*, who without receiving either Money or Soldiers from the *Romans*, defended the Marſhes from the Incurſions of the *Huns*, in Conſideration of which Service they had Liberty to Trade with the Emperor's Subjects in *Pontus*. In the Reign of *Juſtin*, the *Romans* were oblig'd to ſend ſome Forces into *Lazica*, upon the account of the unruly *Iberians*, which adminiſter'd to 'em the firſt Grounds of Diſcontent; and about this time *John Tribus*, a Man of a mean Condition, but of a tyrannical, rapacious Temper, by building a Fort, as a Curb to the *Lazians*, and exacting extravagant Contributions for the Payment of his Soldiers, ſo far provok'd the Inhabitants, who were otherwiſe well affected to the Empire, that they threwth emſelves into

*The* Lazians *revolt to the* Perſians.

into the Protection of *Choſroes*, who wanted little or no Perſuaſions to make him incline to their Propoſals; and theſe Matters were ſo ſecretly tranſacted, that *Choſroes* was got with a powerful Army into the midſt of the Country, where the King did him Homage, and deliver'd the Palace and the moſt important Places of the Kingdom up into his Hands, before the Emperor had any notice of it. In the mean time *Beliſarius*, who was perſuaded that all *Choſroes*'s Preparations were againſt the *Hunns*, and no way related to the *Romans*, had enter'd *Perſia* at the Head of a conſiderable Army, and having fac'd *Niſibis*, he took the Fort of *Siſibranum*, and haraſs'd *Aſſyria*; after which, the Heats encreaſing, and *Syria* being threaten'd by the *Saracens*, it was reſolv'd, in a Council of War, ſpeedily to retreat, whilſt *Choſroes*, upon the News of *Beliſarius* his Invaſion, at the ſame time march'd back into his own Dominions. Thus ended this Year's Campaign, more remarkable for the ſudden Retreat of both Parties, than any conſiderable Action it produc'd.

Beliſarius *enters* Perſia.

The Spring following *Choſroes* again invaded the *Roman* Territories with a great Army, and marching through *Comagena*, a Country bordering Eaſtward upon the *Euphrates*, and from thence call'd *Enphrateſia* by the *Romans*, he neither ſtaid to plunder the Country, nor take in any of the Towns, but march'd directly for *Paleſtine*, which he heard was a Province very fertile, and well inhabited; he therefore already imagin'd himſelf Maſter of the Spoils of it, and of the great Treaſures in *Jeruſalem*, eſpecially when he found the *Romans* gave him no Oppoſition in his Paſſage, but thought it ſufficient to ſecure their own Garriſons. *Juſtinian*, upon the firſt News of this Invaſion, immediately ſent away *Beliſarius*, who rode Poſt into *Comagena*, and at *Europus*, a Town ſituate upon the *Euphrates*, begun

A. D. 542. Choſroes *ſecond Invaſion.*

begun to levy an Army ſome time after *Choſroes* with his had paſs'd the River: at this the *Perſians* were ſo alarm'd, for they were now far within the *Roman* Territories, and dreaded an Enemy at their Backs, that they were glad to retire, and, after an expenſive, fruitleſs Expedition, return home with Shame and Diſhonour, much to the Reputation of *Beliſarius*, who, with a handful of Men, and his prudent courageous Conduct, was able to ſtop the Progreſs of a powerful inveterate Enemy, and drive him out of the midſt of the Country, and that at a time when the reſt of the *Romans* hid their fearful Heads in their ſtrong Holds and Garriſons.

After this great Piece of Service *Beliſarius* return'd to Court; and foraſmuch as he was never after employ'd in the *Perſian* Wars, we muſt follow him into *Italy*, whither he was ſent ſome time after by the Emperor, and where we ſhall find his Fortunes, together with that of the Empire, decline, and give way to the prevailing Arms of the Barbarians.

*A Plague.* Nor did the Sword alone rage at this Time, to the great Deſtruction of Mankind, but the World was viſited with a Plague, which prov'd more deſtructive than War it ſelf, and appear'd to be the immediate Finger of God: For it was neither reſtrain'd to one part of the World, nor confin'd to this or that particular Seaſon of the Year, but ſeiz'd on all Men alike, of different Climates, Diet, Complexions and Inclinations. It took its Flight from *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, and extended its infectious Wings to the utmoſt Bounds of the World. Into whatever Nation it pierc'd, it began firſt at the Sea Coaſt, and paſs'd from thence up into the in-land Country; viſiting all Parts alike with equal Fury where Mankind inhabited, ſparing neither Iſlands, Caves, nor the Tops of Mountains. About the Middle of the Spring, in the ſecond Year of its Tyranny,

it

it viſited *Conſtantinople*, where Apparitions of Spirits appear'd to many, who were thereupon immediately ſtruck with the Diſtemper. At firſt when they met them, they thought to fright 'em by the Repetition of Divine Names, and fled into the Churches for Sanctuary, but to no purpoſe. Some beheld ſuch imaginary Sights in their Dreams, others fancy'd they heard a Voice telling them they were enroll'd in the Number of thoſe that were appointed to die; whereupon great Swellings aroſe that Evening, or the Day following, in their Groin generally, the preceding Symptoms of the Diſeaſe. Some were ſeiz'd with a Deadneſs upon their Spirits, and an Inclination to Sleep, inſomuch that they grew forgetful of all things, and unleſs Care was taken to feed 'em, they ſtarv'd themſelves to Death. Others grew diſtracted, and in their Fits were vex'd with Apparitions, who, as they imagin'd, were going to kill them. Some immediately received the Poiſon upon their Approach to thoſe that were infected, others continu'd ſound and untouch'd, tho' they were continually employ'd in attending the Sick, and burying the Dead. A great many received Benefit by Bathing, and to others in the ſame Condition it prov'd immediate Death. Many, whom the moſt experienc'd Phyſicians had given over for loſt, miraculouſly recover'd; and others, whom they judg'd to be paſt all Danger, unexpectedly dy'd. Some periſh'd for want of Care, whilſt others eſcap'd without it. In a Word, it was not in the Power of Art to find out a Means to prevent or remove the Diſeaſe; for as no Reaſon appear'd, by any precedent Diſpoſition, why the Patient fell ſick, ſo could they find out no Method for his Recovery. A great many that eſcap'd had their Tongues ſo much diminiſh'd that they were unable to pronounce any articulate Sound ever after. This Peſtilence rag'd with great Fury Procop.

Fury for four Months in *Conſtantinople*, in which, at firſt, five, but by degrees ten thouſand and upwards dy'd every Day; and, according to *Evagrius*, who, together with his Family, had been viſited by it, continu'd for fifty Years together in one Corner of the World or another, ſo that the greateſt Part of Mankind then living may be ſaid to have been deſtroy'd by it. In ſome Things he ſaith it reſembled the Plague of *Athens*, in others he inſtances how much it was unlike it. Indeed it appears, upon all Accounts, to have been ſo extraordinary, that it may be thought to have deſery'd a larger Deſcription than either he or *Procopius* has left us of it.

However, theſe immediate Judgments from Heaven put no Stop to the Fury of the Wars in *Italy*, where the Emperor's Arms met with many Defeats after the Departure of *Beliſarius*.

*The Progreſs of the* Goths *in* Italy.

For the *Goths*, when they found he perſiſted to reject the Offer they had made him of the Empire, apply'd themſelves firſt to *Uraiah*, *Vitiges* his Nephew, deſiring him to take the Government upon him; but he prudently declin'd the Burden, as well becauſe he apprehended his Uncle's Misfortunes would redound to his Diſhonour, as becauſe he thought it unnatural in him to aſſume the Title whilſt he was living. Whereupon, by *Uraiah*'s Advice, they made Choice of *Ildebald*, at that time Governor of *Verona*, and Nephew to *Theudis*, King of the *Viſigoths*, who they hoped by that means would be induced to eſpouſe their Quarrel.

Ildebald *choſen King.*

*Ildebald* was a Man of great Accompliſhments, being both valiant and of much Experience. He was no ſooner proclaim'd King, but he adviſ'd the *Goths* once more to remind *Beliſarius*, before his Departure for *Conſtantinople*, of what he had engaged himſelf to do before *Ravenna*, and urge him to the Performance of his Promiſe; which if he did, they would

would be ready to proclaim him King of the *Goths* and *Italians*, but if he refus'd, then *Ildebald* advis'd 'em immediately to enter upon Action.

When he found *Belisarius* stedfastly resolv'd to obey the Emperor's Summons, and that he was set out accordingly for *Constantinople*, he instantly undertook the publick Management of Affairs, and undertook no less than the Re-establishment of the *Gothick* Dominion in *Italy*. He was at first Lord of no more than a thousand Men, and one single Town in *Picenum*; but by degrees the *Goths* that had lain dispers'd up and down the Country united themselves to him, and he was at the same time strengthen'd by no inconsiderable Numbers of discontented *Romans*. For *Alexander*, an Auditor of *Constantinople*, who, for his penurious Temper, and clipping the Coin, was nick-nam'd *Forficula*, was sent by the Emperor into *Italy*, after the Departure of *Belisarius*, to state the Accounts of the Army; which Office he manag'd with so much Rigour and Extortion, that both the *Italians* and the Soldiers became very ill affected to *Justinian*; and were by degrees so indispos'd to their Duty, that they refus'd to embark themselves in any Enterprize of Consequence to the Emperor's Service. At the same time the Officers left behind by *Belisarius* for the Defence of those Parts, disagreeing among themselves, serv'd to advance *Ildebald*'s Affairs, who having defeated *Vitalis*, commanding for the Emperor in *Venetia*, near *Tervisio*, very much strengthen'd his Interest and Reputation, tho' he liv'd not long to enjoy the Fruits of his Victory: For some Female Contests arising betwixt his Queen and *Uraiah*'s Wife, he indiscreetly concern'd himself in the Quarrel, and having accus'd *Uraiah* of an intended Revolt, he very treacherously and ungratefully procur'd him to be murder'd, and by that means expos'd himself to the Displeasure of the

whole

whole Nation; which encourag'd *Vilas*, one of the Guard, upon ſome Perſonal Diſguſt, to murder him whilſt he was feaſting the Nobility. The *Goths* were much amaz'd and diſcourag'd at the Murder, for they look'd on *Ildebald* as a Man able to recover the Dominion of *Italy*, notwithſtanding his late Miſdemeanor. After ſome Deliberation upon the Neceſſity of their Affairs, and Choice of a King to ſucceed him, the Election fell upon *Erarick*, a Man of good Reputation among 'em, who however was not able to ſatisfy them long, but follow'd the Fate of his Predeceſſor: For *Balduillas*, Nephew of *Ildebald*, and Sirnam'd *Totilas*, being Commander of the *Goths* in *Tervifio*, ſent, upon the News of his Uncle's Death, to *Conſtantine*, who govern'd then for the Emperor in *Ravenna*, and promis'd, upon an Aſſurance of Indemnity, to deliver up the Place, and the Men he had in Garriſon in it. *Conſtantine* readily embrac'd the Overture, and gave Oath for Performance of the Articles; but before the Day appointed for the Surrender came, the *Goths*, grown weary of *Erarick*'s Government, made *Totilas* an Offer of the Crown, not only in reſpect of his Birth but his great Deſerts. *Totilas* frankly acquainted 'em with his Engagements to *Conſtantine*, but promis'd, if they diſpatch'd *Erarick* before the Day he had promis'd to ſurrender the Garriſon, he would accept of their Offer, and comply with all their Deſires. In the mean time *Erarick* perſuaded the *Goths* to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* with Propoſals of a Peace, upon Condition they had the ſame Terms granted them that had been formerly offer'd to *Vitiges*; but he ſecretly inſtructed the Ambaſſadors to bargain with the Emperor in his Behalf, for a good Sum of Money, and the Dignity of a Patrician, in Conſideration of which he undertook to deliver all *Italy* up into his Hands. But before theſe Things could

*and murder'd.*

Erarick *choſen King.*

could be tranſacted as he deſir'd at *Conſtantinople*, the *Goths*, in Compliance with *Totilas* his Demands, treacherouſly murder'd *Erarick*, after he had reign'd five Months; and *Totilas* was unanimouſly declar'd King by the whole Nation, who expected great Matters from him; and indeed he prov'd a great Support to that Nation during his Reign in *Italy*.

*and kill'd.*

*Totilas elected.*

The Emperor being inform'd of his Promotion, and the Deſtraction of his Affairs in *Italy*, ſharply reprehended his Officers commanding there, whoſe ill Conduct had notoriouſly contributed to it. It was therefore agreed in a Council of War held at *Ravenna*, firſt to beſiege *Verona*, after the Reduction of which City they concluded to march againſt *Totilas*, who was at the Head of a ſmall Body in *Picenum*. Accordingly the Army, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand Men, had Orders to march under the Command of eleven Officers, who by their ſelfiſh, unſeaſonable Diſputes, render'd the Deſign ineffectual, tho' it had been wiſely propoſed, and as luckily concerted. *Marcianus*, a Perſon of great Intereſt in the Country, and well affected to the Emperor's Service, had procur'd a Citizen of *Verona* to betray the Place; a Watchman was to open one of the Gates by Night to ſuch as ſhould be ſent by the *Romans* to that Purpoſe, whilſt the reſt of the Army follow'd at their leiſure. This Service was look'd upon to be of great Danger, for there was a good Garriſon within the Town, and if the Watchman prov'd a Traitor, the whole Party would infallibly be cut off: For this Reaſon all the Commanders refus'd the Service, except *Artabanes*, an *Armenian*, who had the Command of thoſe *Perſians*, who having deſerted or been taken Priſoners by *Beliſarius* in the Wars in the Eaſt, he had ſent to the Emperor, and were now employ'd by him in *Italy*. *Artabanes* therefore, at the Head of one hundred Men, had the Gate

*The Emperor's Officers, diſagreeing among themſelves, ruin his Affairs.*

Gate open'd to him, and was receiv'd into the City, out of which the *Goths* fled at another Gate, and secur'd themselves upon a Rock not far from the Walls, where they had not only a fair Prospect of the Country round about, but had a full View of all the Streets in *Verona*, and in the Morning discover'd to what a Handful of Men they had, in the Heat of their Surprize, abandon'd the City. For the rest of the *Roman* Army, instead of marching on to assist their Fellows, were detain'd by a shameful Contention between their Officers, who spent the Night in Quarrels about the Plunder of the City, so that the Day was far advanc'd before they could agree to share the Wealth of *Verona* among themselves; and the *Goths*, viewing the Army at that Distance, return'd back with great Expedition into the City, whilst the *Romans*, being unable to make it good against so great an Inequality, fled to the Battlements, where they defended themselves with great Resolution, and did Wonders. By this time the *Romans* were come up, but when they found the Gates shut against 'em, they scandalously retreated, and forsook their Companions, who earnestly call'd out for their Assistance. *Artabanes*, and those of his Followers that were still alive, when they saw themselves thus barbarously betray'd, leap'd down from the Walls; he, with a few more that pitch'd upon plain Ground, got safe to the *Roman* Camp, where he severely upbraided the Officers for their ill Conduct; but the rest, who fell on the Stones, were destroy'd.

The *Romans*, after this Disappointment, pass'd the *Po*, and march'd to *Faventia*; whilst *Totilas*, who was inform'd of their Miscarriage, drew most of the Garrison out of *Verona*, and march'd against the Enemy with his whole Strength, which consisted of no more than five thousand Men. The *Roman* Generals, upon Notice of his Motions, call'd a Council

Council of War, at which *Artabanus* advis'd 'em *to act with Caution againſt the* Goths, *who by their former Miſfortunes, and preſent Advantages, were become deſperate and preſumptuous; and propos'd to engage 'em when they were half paſs'd the River, rather than wait 'till their whole Body was come up.* Inſtead of following this wholſome Counſel, they ſpent their Debates in contradicting one another, as it is uſual among Men who have an Equality of Command, and ſo ſate ſtill without doing any thing at all; whilſt *Totilas*, after he had encourag'd his Men by a ſeaſonable Exhortation, order'd three Hundred of 'em to paſs the River at ſome Diſtance below, that they might get behind the Enemy, and, when they perceiv'd the Fight begun, gaul 'em in the Rear. Theſe Orders were carefully executed, and prov'd of great Advantage to the *Goths* in the Engagement: *Totilas*, with the reſt of his Forces, without any Oppoſition, went over at the Place where they had lain encamp'd, and ſo both Armies began to face each other. Whilſt they were drawing up in Order of Battel, *Valiaris*, a hardy robuſt *Goth*, advanc'd beyond the Rank, and boldly challeng'd any *Roman* to a ſingle Combat, which was readily accepted by the valiant *Artabanes*, who in the firſt Encounter ran his Lance into his Right Side, and gave him a mortal Wound, ſo that the *Goth* ſunk backward and reſted upon his Lance, which hardly kept him from falling. *Artabanes*, who thought the Wound he had given him had not been mortal, unfortunately charg'd him a ſecond time, and wounded him in the Belly, at the ſame time that the Head of *Valiaris* his Lance lighted upon his Neck, and cut an Artery; notwithſtanding which, *Artabanes*, who was acknowledg'd Conqueror, gallop'd back to the Army, and left his Adverſary dead upon the Place. At firſt he felt no Pain, nor apprehended any Danger, but the

*A ſingle Combat, in which both are deſtroy'd.*

the Flux of Blood prov'd ſo great that it was impoſſibe to be ſtopp'd, ſo that he dy'd three Days after, much lamented by all thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Emperor's Affairs, which receiv'd an exceeding great Loſs in his Death. He was remov'd out of Danger of the Enemy's Shot, where all Care was taken to attend him; and in the mean while both Armies join'd Battel, and the *Romans* were entirely defeated; for the three Hundred *Goths* before mention'd, in purſuance of their Inſtructions, fell in the heat of the Engagement upon the Backs of the *Romans*, who, apprehending their Numbers to be greater than they were, immediately gave Ground, and fled away in great Confuſion; the Enemy who follow'd cloſe at their Heels, took a great many Priſoners in the Purſuit, and all their Enſigns, whilſt the Commanders ſhifted the beſt they could for themſelves, and got, with a few of their Followers, into the Towns next adjoyning.

A. D. 542. *Totilas*, after this Victory, which prov'd of great Advantage to his Affairs, made uſe of his good Fortune, and ſat down before *Florence*, from whence however he was forc'd to riſe, and remove to *Micale*, a Town about a Days Journey diſtant from it, whither the *Romans* prepar'd to follow him, intending with part of the Forces under the Command of *John*, Governor of *Florence*, to ſet ſuddenly upon the Enemy, whilſt the reſt march'd ſlowly after; but here again ſome untimely Diſputes among the Officers fruſtrated all their Deſigns; for upon a Diſagreement among 'em, *John* was forc'd to engage with no more than his own Guards, and, after a ſharp Diſpute, was worſted; for as the reſt of the Army was at laſt marching up to his Aſſiſtance, a falſe Report that he was kill'd by one of his own Life-guard threw 'em into ſuch a Conſternation, that they all diſpers'd themſelves in great Confuſion, and left *Totilas* abſolute

*The* Romans *routed.*

Maſter of the Field of Battle. He us'd his Victory with ſo much Moderation, and treated his Priſoners with ſo much Humanity, that many of 'em enter'd into his Service againſt the Emperor.

The Spring following, he took in ſeveral Places that had been Garriſon'd by the *Romans*, which readily ſurrender'd, ſo that in a ſhort time he became Maſter of the greateſt part of *Tuſcany*, *Campania*, and *Samnium*; after which he march'd with the main Strength of his Army to Beſiege *Naples*, reducing *Brutia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*; and having ſeiz'd on the Publick Revenue, as well as private Rents, he behav'd himſelf like a Prince abſolute in *Italy*, in which his Power and Authority encreas'd every Day, whereas the Emperor's on the other ſide was daily declining. For having no Money to pay his Army, he contracted a vaſt Debt in the Country, and the Soldiers grew Licentious, and Diſobedient to their Officers, whilſt the Inhabitants themſelves were miſerably haraſs'd and impoveriſh'd by the contending Parties. To remove theſe Difficulties, *Juſtinian* Mann'd out a good Fleet, and rais'd a conſiderable Army, both which he committed to the Conduct of *Maximinus*, with the Title of *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*; joining with him, as his Lieutenant, *Demetrius*, who had formerly been General of the Foot under *Beliſarius*. *Maximinus* was a Man of a weak, cowardly Spirit, and altogether a Stranger to Military Affairs; nor was *Demetrius* much better qualify'd for the Service, being a Perſon of little or no Conduct, and very ill belov'd by the Soldiers. Whilſt *Maximinus* loiter'd upon the Coaſts of *Epirus*, *Demetrius* undertook to relieve *Naples*, cloſely Beſieg'd by the *Goths*, by whom it was reduc'd to the laſt Extremity; but having very few Forces with him, he freighted a good Number of Ships with Corn and other Proviſions in *Sicily*, intending

A D. 543.

to terrify the Enemy, who would conclude that ſo conſiderable a Navy muſt have an Army proportionable on Board. He had undoubtedly ſucceeded had he ſailed directly for *Naples*; but being too fearful of his own Strength, he rather choſe to go firſt to *Rome*, where he hoped to raiſe Soldiers to reinforce his Army; but found, upon trial, they had lately been ſo beaten by the *Goths*, that they refus'd to march againſt *Totilas*, ſo that he was neceſſitated either to ſit ſtill there, or undertake the Expedition with no more than thoſe he had brought with him; the laſt Expedient he thought the moſt adviſable, and *Totilas*, upon notice of his Deſign, Mann'd out a Fleet of light Pinnaces to Encounter him, who bearing up to him unawares, quickly terrify'd and defeated him. Every Ship he had, was taken or ſunk, together with all his Men, except a few, that following his Example, ſav'd themſelves in the Long Boats. This Diſaſter ſadly diſcourag'd the Beſieg'd, and animated the Aſſailants with freſh Vigour, ſo that *Conon*, who commanded for the Emperor in *Naples*, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger with an Account of his Condition to *Maximinus*, who, being advanc'd as far as *Sicily*, lay careleſly at *Syracuſe*, like one who was afraid to Embark himſelf in the War; and tho' the *Romans* in *Naples*, by repeated Meſſages, demanded his Aſſiſtance, and he was threaten'd with the Emperor's heavy Diſpleaſure, he refus'd to hazard his own Perſon, and therefore diſmiſs'd the Army to *Naples* under the Command of other Officers. The Fleet ſet Sail in the midſt of Winter, and by that time they drew near the Coaſt of *Campania*, ſo violent a Storm aroſe, as render'd all the Care and Skill of the Seamen ineffectual, ſo that they were all driven a-ſhore near the Enemy's Camp, who, with much eaſe, ſunk what Ships, and kill'd as many Men as they pleas'd.

*The* Romans *overthrown at Sea.*

*Deme-*

*Demetrius*, who after his late Defeat was got aboard the Fleet, happen'd to be among them that were taken, and was led, with a Rope about his Neck, to the Town Wall, where *Totilas* compell'd him to perſuade the Inhabitants to ſurrender, by aſſuring 'em that all hopes of Relief was loſt with the Navy; ſo that *Conon*, ſenſible of the Neceſſity he lay under, and the ill Condition of the Emperor's Affairs, ſurrender'd the City upon Honourable Conditions, which *Totilas* punctually obſerv'd, and thereby endear'd himſelf very much to the Inhabitants. He was ſenſible his Nation had been infamous for their Diſſoluteneſs and Barbarity, which Character he endeavour'd to obliterate by eſtabliſhing an exact Diſcipline in his Army, and giving the World ſevere Inſtances of his Juſtice by the Puniſhments he inflicted on the Offenders. One of his own Guard, having Raviſh'd the Daughter of a *Roman* Gentleman in *Calabria*, he ſentenc'd to Death; and tho' he was otherwiſe a valiant deſerving Soldier, and the Chief Officers of the Army petition'd for him, he was executed accordingly, and his Eſtate conferr'd upon the injur'd Lady. Theſe Courſes render'd him and his Followers by degrees grateful to the *Italians*, who on the other ſide were inſolently abus'd by the Imperialiſts; for the Officers themſelves liv'd in all Debauchery with their Miſtreſſes, and ſuffer'd the licentious Soldiers to follow their Examples; ſo that Men of all Conditions, but eſpecially the Peaſants, had great reaſon to complain, for the *Goths* ſeiz'd upon his Land, and the *Romans* waſted and devour'd his Goods.

Naples *ſurrender'd to* Totilas.

Totilas *his prudent Conduct.*

By this time the Emperor had but few Places remaining firm to his Obedience, *Conſtantianus* commanded in *Ravenna*, *John* govern'd in *Rome*, *Beſſus* in *Spoletum*, *Juſtin* and *Cyprian* in *Florence* and *Peruſia*, the only Towns almoſt of conſequence

A. D. 544.

that were not under the Dominion of the *Goths*. *Totilas*, being now Maſter of *Naples*, and all the ſtrong Holds in thoſe Parts, began to turn his Thoughts towards *Rome*, and ſent a Letter to the Senate, whom he earneſtly deſir'd to draw over to his Party; he tax'd 'em in very civil Terms with *their Ingratitude to the* Goths, *by whom they had in ſo high a meaſure been oblig'd; he advis'd and entreated 'em to return to their Allegiance, from which they had unworthily departed, for the ſake of thoſe who us'd 'em more like Slaves than Subjects, and committed ſuch Outrages upon 'em, as he always made uſe of his Power to protect 'em from*; he added, *That the only way they had left to remove the Calamities, under which they labour'd, was to return to their Duty, in which Caſe he aſſur'd 'em of his Favour and Protection, which ſhould extend not only to the Senate, but the People*. *John*, who commanded in *Rome* for the Emperor, forbad the Senate to anſwer this Letter, or to receive any more from *Totilas*, who however privately convey'd ſeveral other Papers into *Rome* by unknown Hands, who took care in the Night to Poſt 'em up in the moſt remarkable Places of the City. The *Arian* Prieſts were ſuſpected to have been inſtrumental in it, and were for that Reaſon expell'd. This Severity very much affronted *Totilas*, who for that Reaſon reſolv'd to proceed after another manner; and having ſent part of his Army into *Calabria* to take in *Otranto*, he march'd with the reſt againſt the Towns lying about *Rome*, and having taken *Tivoly* by the Treachery of ſome of the Inhabitants, he put all to the Sword, thereby teaching the Citizens of *Rome* what they were to expect, after they had refus'd to accept of his Grace and Favour.

VI. The Emperor being deeply concern'd and perplex'd at the ill News which he daily receiv'd out

out of *Italy*, which was in Danger entirely to be loſt without ſome ſpeedy Prevention, and knowing by Experience he had no Man in his Empire whom he could ſo implicitly truſt, as *Beliſarius*, he recall'd him out of *Perſia*, and commanded him to prepare to paſs with all Expedition into the Weſt. In his way through *Illyricum*, he rais'd with his own Money, what Forces he could, and at *Salonæ* muſter'd about four thouſand Men. From thence he diſmiſs'd *Vitalius*, or *Valentin*, General of thoſe Parts, with Part of his Army, to raiſe the Siege of *Otranto*, where he arriv'd juſt four Days before the Beſieg'd had promis'd to ſurrender, in caſe no Succours were ſent in the mean time: Hereupon the Siege was rais'd, and the Town re-inforc'd with freſh Supplies of Men and Proviſion. *Beliſarius* being arriv'd in *Italy*, inform'd the Emperor of the Condition he found the Country in, telling him that he was deſtitute both of Men, Arms and Money, without which it was impoſſible for him to proſecute the War. The few Soldiers he had rais'd in his Paſſage through *Illyricum*, were raw and undiſciplin'd, thoſe upon the Place were cowardly and mutinous; for having been ſo often defeated by the *Goths*, they were terrify'd at their very Names, and having been ſo long unpaid, he was cautious of commanding them upon any Service, for fear of being diſobey'd; that he dar'd not raiſe any Contributions from the Inhabitants, leſt they ſhould be thereby provok'd to revolt to the Enemy; concluding in theſe Terms, *If your Majeſty's Deſign was only to ſend me into* Italy, *I have follow'd your Orders, and am now in it; but if you expect I ſhould ſerve you againſt the Enemy, I ought to be furniſh'd with Materials proper for that Deſign, without which I am in no Condition of propoſing a Peace, or continuing the War.* Theſe Letters he committed to *John*, the Son of *Vitalian*, with Orders to deliver

A. D. 545. Beliſarius *ſends the Emperor an Account of the Affairs in* Italy.

them forthwith to the Emperor, and ſollicite Supplies for the Service in *Italy*. But *John*, being arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, inſtead of obeying his Orders, minded nothing for ſome time but his own private Affairs, and got himſelf marry'd with much Pomp and Solemnity to the Daughter of *Germanus*, the Emperor's Nephew. By theſe Delays *Totilas* had an Opportunity of purſuing his good Fortune, and wreſting thoſe Places that remain'd firm to their Obedience out of the Emperor's Hands. He made himſelf Maſter of *Fermo*, *Aſcoli*, *Spoleto*, and *Peruſa*, and took ſeveral other Towns of Conſequence, in which he met with little or no Oppoſition. *Procopius* tells us, that a certain poor Biſhop of *Tuſcany*, call'd *Cerbonius*, having about this Time hid ſome *Roman* Soldiers in his Houſe, thereby to ſecure 'em from the Cruelty of the *Goths*, *Totilas* was ſo enrag'd, when he was inform'd of it, that he commanded the good Biſhop to be expos'd to a wild Boar, which was let looſe upon him; but the Animal, tho' by Hunger made furious and implacable, inſtead of devouring his Prey, fell offenceleſs down at the Prelate's Feet, and fawn'd friendly upon him: The People, amaz'd at the Miracle, importun'd *Totilas* to pardon *Cerbonius*, which he readily granted, be[illegible]ham'd of his Indignation expreſs'd againſt a Perſo[illegible] whom God had ſo miraculouſly protected. This Account is no ways contradictory to the true Deſign and Nature of Miracles, whereas another related upon the ſame Occaſion, by *Gregory* the Firſt, ſounds too much like a Fable to be inſerted in this Hiſtory.

*Totilas* being thus become Maſter of the greateſt Part of *Italy*, commanded the Husbandmen to till and cultivate the Fields, and expreſly forbid his Soldiers, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to impeach or moleſt them. This civil Treatment wrought ſo effectually upon the Inhabitants of the *Parmeſan*, which

which is a fruitful, profitable Soil, that they voluntarily ſurrender'd themſelves to *Totilas*, who was directing his chief Deſigns againſt the City of *Rome*, which he block'd up ſo cloſely, that he ſuffer'd no Proviſions to be imported either by Sea or Land, by which Means the City was reduc'd to the laſt Extremity; for the Famine rag'd ſo furiouſly within the Walls, that the Inhabitants were forc'd to feed upon Things the moſt filthy and unwholſome, not ſparing their own Excrement. They flock'd in great Multitudes to *Beſſas*, who commanded for the Emperor, deſiring *either Food for their Subſiſtance, or Leave to go out of the unfortunate City, otherwiſe that he would diſpatch 'em out of the way.* *Beſſas* reply'd, *That to ſupply them with Food was impoſſible, to let 'em go was unſafe, and to kill 'em impious:* And that was all the Comfort they receiv'd from him, who had undertaken their Protection. All the Support they met with was from *Pelagius*, a Deacon of the Church, who having been a great Favourite of *Juſtinian's*, in whoſe Court he had a long time reſided, was grown Maſter of much Wealth, which he, being at this time in *Rome*, diſtributed with a generous Hand to the Neceſſities of the People, and for ſome time mightily ſupported 'em.

Rome *cloſely beſieg'd by* Totilas.

*Beliſarius*, at his firſt Arrival into *Italy*, finding the Coaſt of *Calabria* and *Campania* ſecur'd by the *Goths*, ſo that it was impoſſible to land at any Place near *Rome*, diſembark'd at *Ravenna*, where he was inform'd of the Difficulties the Garriſon labour'd under, and quickly found how hard a Matter it would be to relieve 'em. By repeated Meſſengers he demanded freſh Supplies from the Emperor, notwithſtanding which it was a conſiderable time e'er *John* return'd with a little Army, conſiſting partly of *Romans* and partly of Barbarians: At the ſame time *Narſes*, the Eunuch, arriv'd with ſome Auxiliary Troops

Beliſarius *lands at* Ravenna.

of the *Heruli*, who in their March defeated a great Body of the *Sclavi*, whom *Totilas* had bought to aſſiſt him, and who, paſſing the *Iſter*, had waſted the Country, plunder'd the Cities, and taken vaſt Numbers of Priſoners. *Beliſarius*, having committed the Care of *Ravenna* to *Juſtin*, march'd through *Dalmatia* to *Epidamus*, or *Durazzo* in *Albania*, where joining the Supplies, he order'd *John* to march through *Calabria*; and having driven the *Goths* out of thoſe Parts, to meet him, with the reſt of the Forces, near *Rome*, towards which he ſet ſail, and landed at *Portus*. *John*, being advanc'd as far as *Capua*, and having done ſome Execution in his Paſſage, durſt not attempt that City, tho' garriſon'd by no more than three hundred Men, and tho' he himſelf was follow'd by the choiceſt of the *Roman* Army. This gave *Beliſarius* juſt Grounds to fear, leſt the Beſieged in *Rome*, who were almoſt ſtarv'd, would liſten to *Totilas*, who perſwaded 'em earneſtly to ſurrender. He knew himſelf unable, by main Force, to relieve the City, and therefore endeavour'd by ſome means to Victual it. *Totilas* had built a Bridge croſs the *Tiber*, where it was narroweſt, about eleven Miles from *Rome*, on either Side of which he rais'd wooden Towers, and put good Garriſons into 'em, the better to hinder any Veſſels loaden with Proviſions from paſſing by into the Town: *Beliſarius* therefore faſten'd two Barks together, and rais'd a Tower which was higher than thoſe the Enemy had at the Bridge, and the ſame time he mann'd out two hundred Pinnaces, which were full of Port-holes, to ſhoot at the Enemy; on board of theſe he put Corn and other Proviſions, and poſted a good Body of Horſe and Foot on either Side the Bank, for the better Security of *Portus*, which he garriſon'd, and committed to the Care of *Iſaac*, one of his Lieutenants, with expreſs Orders not to quit his Poſt, tho' he heard

*His endeavour to relieve* Rome.

*Beli-*

*Beliſarius* had miſcarry'd and was ſlain; for all the other Forts in the Country being in the Enemies Hands, he reſerv'd that as a Place of Retreat for the Army upon any unfortunate Accident. He himſelf conducted the Pinnaces, and tow'd the Bark after, putting a Cock-boat upon it loaden with combuſtible Materials; and that his Stratagems might have the better Succeſs upon the Enemy, he order'd *Beſſas* to make a general Salley, and alarm their Camp. *Beſſas*, who drove a very beneficial Trade with the Corn that had been ſtor'd up for the Uſe of the Garriſon, ſelling it to the People at an exorbitant Price, deſir'd the Siege might be prolong'd; and therefore neglected theſe and ſeveral other precedent Orders from *Beliſarius*, who was as deſirous to raiſe it.

By that time *Beliſarius* was got near the Bridge with his Pinnaces, he found an Iron Chain lying croſs the River, which, with no ſmall Slaughter of the *Goths*, who were plac'd there to ſecure it, he eaſily remov'd; after which he reſolutely attack'd the Bridge, and order'd the Barks to attempt one of the Towers, out of which the *Goths* did great Execution upon the *Romans*, till it was ſet on Fire by the Cock-boat, which conſum'd that, and two hundred of the Enemy in it; ſo that they might eaſily have maſter'd the Bridge, and paſs'd on without any Oppoſition into *Rome*, had not Fortune fought againſt them, or rather Providence, which often eludes all Human Precaution. For the good Succeſs the *Romans* met with at the Bridge, was unluckily carry'd to *Portus* before the Service was perfected; whereupon *Iſaac* the Governor, who was reſolv'd to have his ſhare in the Honour of the Action, in Breach of the Orders and Truſt he had received from the General, went with an hundred Horſe and charg'd the Enemies Quarters on the other Side the River, in which *Roderick*, an experienc'd

enc'd and reſolute Captain, commanded for *Totilas*: *Roderick* was wounded in the firſt Onſet, together with ſeveral more of the *Goths*, who either ſuſpecting that Party was followed by other Forces, or deſigning to draw the *Romans* into farther Danger, quitted their Poſt, but ſeeing *Iſaac* enter the Trenches and amuſe himſelf with the Pillage, they return'd briskly upon him, and took him with moſt of his Followers Priſoners.

*defeated.*

*Beliſarius*, who knew nothing of theſe Tranſactions, being inform'd that *Iſaac* was in the Enemies Hands, concluded *Portus*, in which he had left his Wife and all his Equipage, was taken, whereby all Hopes of a Retreat were cut off, unleſs he could ſpeedily recover the Town; whereupon he drew back his Forces, with an Intent to charge the Enemy before they could be prepar'd to receive him: But when upon his Return he found how *Iſaac* by his Raſhneſs and Diſobedience had ruin'd all, he took it ſo to Heart, that he fell into a Feaver, which very much endanger'd his Life, and perplex'd the Affairs of the Empire. *Roderick* dy'd of his Wounds ſhortly after the Action, at which *Totilas* was ſo incens'd that he put *Iſaac* to death.

A. D. 547. The *Romans* that were within the Walls were ſo diſhearten'd with theſe Diſappointments, and pinch'd with Hunger and Neceſſity, that they grew negligent and tumultuous, whilſt *Beſſas*, who was wholly intent upon his own Profit, neglected his Charge, and ſuffer'd the Soldiers to live at Diſcretion. This Remiſſneſs, as well in the Governor as the Garriſon, encouraged four *Iſaurians*, poſted as Sentinels near the *Porta Aſinaria*, to make Propoſals to *Totilas* of receiving his Forces into the Town. *Totilas* readily embrac'd the Overture, and, upon repeated Aſſurances of their Sincerity, led his Troops in the ſilence of the Night near the Gate, which was, according to the Agree-

ment,

ment, open'd to him by the *Iſaurians*. Upon the first Alarm, *Beſſas*, who perceiv'd the Town was betray'd, fled out at another Gate with ſuch as were able to follow him; ſo that there were not above five hundred Soldiers who fled for Sanctuary into the Churches, of which no more than five and twenty were kill'd, together with ſixty of the Inhabitants; for as *Totilas* was going in the Morning to St. *Peter's* Church to Prayer, *Pelagius* the Deacon met him, and throwing himſelf at his Feet, with the Goſpels extended in his Hands, implor'd him to pardon and ſpare the Inhabitants, which, after much Importunity, he obtain'd; for *Totilas* forbad his Soldiers to kill any more, or to offer Violence to the Women, but gave 'em leave to pillage the City, reſerving the choiceſt of the Spoils to his own uſe. The Houſes of the Patricians abounded in Wealth, but the moſt conſiderable of all was that of *Beſſas*, who by his Exactions had hoarded up immenſe Treaſures for the uſe of *Totilas*. The *Goths* ſpent ſeveral Days together in ſtripping the Inhabitants, the moſt wealthy of whom were reduc'd to ſo much Poverty, that many of the Senators, and *Ruſticiana*, *Boetius* his Widow, and Daughter of *Symmachus*, a Matron of moſt exemplary Charity, went begging their Bread from Door to Door. The *Goths* had a great Deſire to put this Lady to Death, becauſe, as they ſaid, ſhe hir'd the *Roman* Officers to pull down the Images of *Theodorich*, for his Injuſtice and Cruelty to her Husband and Father; but *Totilas* preſerv'd her, and the reſt of the Women, from the Inſolence of the Soldiers, to his great Honour and Reputation. Thus *Rome* fell into the Hands of the *Goths*, in the Second Year of the Siege, and Twelfth of the War, *Ann. Dom.* 547.

*Rome taken and pillag'd.*

VII. *Totilas*

VII. *Totilas* being now Maſter of the Capital City of the Univerſe, manag'd his Fortune with much Moderation. At firſt he reproach'd the *Roman* Senators for their Ingratitude to the *Goths*, and threaten'd, in the heat of Paſſion, to make 'em his Slaves, but pardon'd them preſently after at the Interceſſion of *Pelagius*, whom he ſent with *Theodorus*, a *Roman* Orator, as his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, with Letters full of Reſpect, in which he deſir'd to live in Amity with him, as *Theodorich* had done with *Anaſtaſius*; upon which Conſideration he promis'd to reverence him as his Father, and aſſiſt him againſt all his Enemies whomſoever: But if *Juſtinian* rejected the Offer of Peace, he threaten'd to level *Rome* flat with the Ground, to kill all the Senate, and carry the War into *Illyricum*. The Emperor return'd no other Anſwer, than *that he had conſtituted* Beliſarius *his Vicegerent in the Weſt, who accordingly had full Power relating to all Things of that nature in thoſe Parts.* *Totilas* was ſo provok'd at this Anſwer, that he reſolv'd to continue the War, and demoliſh *Rome*, in which he ſaid he would not leave one Stone upon another. Accordingly he threw down a third Part of the Wall, and was ready to ſet Fire to the moſt beautiful Buildings in the City; when he receiv'd Letters from *Beliſarius*, diſſuading him from his Purpoſe: He told him, *If he continued Conqueror, he ought to preſerve a City which would be his own by right of Conqueſt, and was the moſt beautiful of all his Dominions; that it would be to his own Loſs if he deſtroy'd it, and would redound much to his Diſhonour:* For Rome *having been rais'd to her Majeſty and Grandeur, by the Virtue and Induſtry of former Ages, Poſterity would conſider him as a common Enemy to Mankind, in depriving 'em of an Example, and living Repreſentation of the Worth and Magnanimity*

*Totilas ſends an Embaſſy to the Emperor.*

*nimity of their Ancestors. On the other Hand, if in the Course of the War he should prove unfortunate, he told him he would highly oblige the Emperor in the Preservation of that beloved City, and who therefore would be more inclinable to grant him easie Terms; whereas, in the Ruin of it, he would expect no Mercy from an incens'd Conqueror.* *Totilas*, having seriously consider'd the Substance of these Letters, and how much Reason they contain'd, proceeded no farther in his Designs against the City. After this he march'd with his Army into *Lucania*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where the *Goths*, through their Presumption and ill Management, had lately been worsted.

*Belisarius* being in the mean time re-inforc'd with some fresh Troops from *Constantinople*, retook *Tarentum* and *Spoleto*, and seeing *Totilas* had quitted *Rome*, in which he left no Garrison for its Defence; for having demolish'd so much of the Walls he thought it was in no Man's Power to defend it against him, but that he might return at his Pleasure, he was earnestly desirous to recover that City once more to the Emperor; and therefore leaving a competent Garrison in *Pontus*, he march'd thither with the rest of his Army, and resolv'd to hold it. Accordingly he dug a large Ditch round it, repair'd the Walls with as much Diligence, and in the best Manner he could; provided it with Necessaries, and recall'd such of the Inhabitants as had fled from the Fury of the *Goths*, restoring to every Man his own House and Possession, and promising an Immunity from Taxes to such as would settle themselves there. Upon this News *Totilas* return'd back instantly to *Rome*, not doubting but to have it yielded up at his first Appearance; but he met with a greater Resistance than before, and quickly found how much Difference there was betwixt *Bessas* and *Belisarius*: After several Assaults, in which he was beaten

*Belisarius Regains Rome, and fortifies it.*

beaten back with great Loſs, he was forc'd to draw off, and retire to *Tibur*, the Caſtle of which he re built, and continu'd for ſome time quietly in it. Here he firſt experimented how much ſome People are influenc'd in their Duty and Obedience by Fortune; the *Goths*, that hitherto had careſs'd and extoll'd him like a God, ador'd him and follow'd him as their Deliverer, began now to be weary of their Allegiance, and reproach'd him for his ill Conduct, in ſuffering *Rome*, which had coſt them ſo much Time and Labour, to be ſo eaſily recover'd by the Imperialiſts: And this ill Humour towards him made 'em ſo refractory, that when he prepar'd to march to the Siege of *Peruſia*, which held out againſt him for the Emperor, they refus'd to obey his Orders, 'till in a ſet Speech he made an Apology to 'em.

*Totilas*, after he had taken *Rome*, confin'd ſeveral of the *Roman* Senators with their Wives in *Campania*, but in his Abſence they were ſet at Liberty by *John*, who routed a ſtrong Party of *Goths* near *Capua*: Hereupon he reſolv'd to be reveng'd upon him for the Diſgrace, and march'd immediately in queſt of him. *John* had encamp'd himſelf in *Apulia*, and had undoubtedly been deſtroy'd with all his Forces, if *Totilas* had made a right Uſe of the Advantage his Diligence in the Expedition had put into his Hands; for the *Goths* exceeded the *Romans* ten to one in Number, and might eaſily have ſurrounded them, if *Totilas* could have waited with Patience 'till the Morning, but he fell unadviſedly upon them in the Night, and the *Romans* upon the firſt Alarm eſcap'd by the Benefit of the Darkneſs, with the Loſs of no more than a Hundred of their Men, into *Otranto*. After this there was very little Action on either Side for ſome time, both Parties ſeeming careful to preſerve what they were in Poſſeſſion of, and to deſpair of wreſting any

any more out of their Enemies Hands, eſpecially the *Romans*, who ſhortly after loſt their chief Strength in the Perſon of *Beliſarius*, who was recall'd by the Emperor to *Conſtantinople*, which City was this Year more terrify'd than hurt by an Earthquake; which, together with the taking a prodigious Whale, and the overflowing of the *Nile*, adminiſter'd to the Inhabitants many Speculations. This Whale was call'd *Porphyrion*, and had, for the Space of fifty Years, very much infeſted the Seas in thoſe Parts, drowning Ships, and driving the Sailors, who ſtudy'd to avoid her, into great Inconveniences: *Juſtinian* had many ways attempted to deſtroy her, but ſtill to no Purpoſe, 'till now purſuing a great Number of Dolphins, ſhe came ſo near the Shoar that ſhe ſtruck upon the Mud, where the Country People hew'd her with great Axes but were unable to kill her, ſo that they were forc'd to drag her with great Ropes aſhore, and upon meaſuring, found her to be thirty Cubits long and ten broad.

*A Conſpiracy againſt the Emperor.*

Before *Beliſarius* his Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, a Conſpiracy, form'd againſt the Emperor, was luckily diſcover'd. The chief Perſon concern'd in it was *Artabanes*, who ſlew the Tyrant *Gontharis* in *Africk*, as has been obſerv'd before; for this Service the Emperor made him his General in that Province; but being in Love with *Projecta*, *Juſtinian*'s Niece, and *Areobindus*'s Widow, whom he earneſtly deſired to Marry, he was upon his own Requeſt, recall'd to *Conſtantinople*, where he hop'd to effect the Match, the Lady her ſelf being very inclinable to it. Upon his Return to Court the Emperor receiv'd him very graciouſly, made him General of his Forces in *Conſtantinople*, and gave him the Command of all the Confederates in thoſe Parts, ſo that nothing was wanting now to compleat his Happineſs but the eſpouſing *Projecta*:

but as he was preparing himself with much Satisfaction for the Nuptials, a former Wife, whom upon some small Discontents he had deserted, appear'd, and forbad the Banes; whereupon *Projecta* was marry'd to another. *Artabanes*, enrag'd to find he had not Interest enough, after all his Services, to Divorce himself from a discarded Wife, for the sake of another, grew so disaffected to the Emperor, that he immediately resolv'd upon his Ruin, uniting himself to *Arsaces*, an *Armenian*, his near Relation, and other dangerous Male-contents. *Arsaces* had lately been convicted of corresponding secretly with the King of *Persia*, and conspiring with him against the Emperor, for which however he receiv'd no other Punishment than a few Stripes on his Back, and being led through the City upon a Camel; for *Justinian* still continu'd him in his Employments, and suffer'd him to appear at Court as formerly; notwithstanding which he grew so discontented, that he vow'd to be reveng'd. *Justinian* had lately disoblig'd his Nephew *Germanus*, and his Sons, by with-holding from 'em an Estate had been left 'em, which *Artabanes* and *Arsaces* thought Provocation sufficient to make 'em join with them in their Designs against him; upon which Consideration they discover'd themselves to *Justinus*, *Germanus* his eldest Son; who, tho' but young, was valiant and wary; they propos'd to kill *Justinian* one Night, as he sate up late with some old Priests, with whom he frequently convers'd without his Guards, and declare *Germanus* Emperor: The Execution was to be deferr'd till *Belisarius* his *Arrival*, who otherwise, upon notice of what was done, might levy an Army in his Passage through *Thrace*, and oppose the new Emperor; for which Reason they resolv'd to dispatch him at the same time, together with *Marcellus*, Captain of the *Palatine* Soldiers.

*Justi-*

*Juſtinus* liſten'd patiently to what they propos'd, but was ſo far from joining with them, that he immediately reveal'd it to his Father, who made a Diſcovery of it to *Marcellus*; and he, upon a full Aſſurance that the Conſpirators were in earneſt, reported it to the Emperor, who order'd 'em all to be ſeiz'd, examin'd, and committed to Priſon, which was the only Puniſhment inflicted upon 'em. *diſcover'd.*

Whilſt the Emperor's Perſon was thus in Danger, the Empire itſelf was threaten'd with almoſt a total Diſſolution by her Enemies, who began to invade her on every part; the *French*, taking the Advantage of the Wars in *Italy*, ſeiz'd on the greateſt part of *Venetia*; for as on one ſide the *Romans* were unable to reſiſt 'em, ſo the *Goths* on the other found it impoſſible to contend with both Parties at once. About the ſame time the *Heruli* broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, ſpoiling the Country and deſtroying the Inhabitants; whilſt the *Gepidæ* ſeiz'd on *Sirmium*, and the greateſt part of *Dacia*, which *Juſtinian* had lately recover'd from the *Goths*. Theſe Calamities were attended by a Mutiny in the Garriſon *Beliſarius* had left in *Rome*; for being offended at *Conon* their Governor, who had juſtly provok'd them by his Avarice, they kill'd him, and arrogantly ſent to the Emperor to excuſe the Matter, threatning, that unleſs he pardon'd 'em, they would revolt, and deliver up the City to *Totilas*; who, taking the Advantage of this Mutiny, and the Abſence of *Beliſarius*, march'd with a powerful Army againſt it, and, after ſeveral Sallies and Aſſaults, was receiv'd into it by the Treachery of ſome *Iſaurians*, who following the Example of their Countrymen, and offended for that they had not receiv'd their Arrears, open'd one of the Gates, and let him in, the Inhabitants, who dreaded his Fury, ſhifting for themſelves in the beſt manner they could. He now behav'd himſelf

A. D. 548.

A. D. 550. Rome *again taken by* Totilas.

ſelf with more Moderation than before, for inſtead of deſtroying the Walls, he repair'd the Breaches, added new Fortifications, replanted the City with *Goths* and *Romans*, provided it with all manner of Neceſſaries, recalled the Senators, celebrated the *Circenſian* Games, and omitted nothing that he thought proper to ſecure it to his Obedience, and ingratiate himſelf with the *Italians*. And indeed he was oblig'd both in Honour and Intereſt to preſerve *Rome*; for having ſome time before ſent to demand from the King of the *Franks*, his Daughter in Marriage, the King reply'd, He would never beſtow her on a Man who was not, nor never could be King of *Italy*, ſo long as he was unable to preſerve the Capital City, which, after he had taken, he improvidently diſmantled, and abandon'd to the Enemy. Being thus once more Maſter of *Rome*, he ſent and deſir'd a Truce from the Emperor, who was ſo far from condeſcending to it, that he would not ſo much as ſee the Meſſenger, for which Reaſon *Totilas* reſolv'd to purſue the War with more Vigour than ever, and laid Siege to *Centumcellæ*, call'd at preſent *Civita-vecchia*, which *Diogenes*, the Governor of it, defended with ſo much Courage, that he was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and paſs'd with his Army into *Sicily*, which he extreamly waſted; and to drive him from whence, *Juſtinian* ſent *Artabanes*, whom he had pardon'd for his late Treaſon againſt his Perſon, and made him General of his Forces in *Thrace*. At the ſame time he nam'd *Germanus*, his Nephew, General againſt the *Goths* in *Italy*; *Germanus* his late Services in *Africk* had acquir'd him great Reputation, which he was ambitious to improve by the Glory of recovering *Italy*. He had newly married *Metaſuntha*, the Daughter of *Amalaſont*, and Widow of *Vitiges*, lately deceas'd, whom he intended to carry with him

Germanus *declar'd General in* Italy.

him into *Italy*, concluding the *Goths* would be aſhamed to lift up their Hands againſt the Grand-Daughter of *Theodorich*; and *Totilas* himſelf was not without fear that they would receive him for their lawful Prince in reſpect of his Wife: He was a Man generally belov'd by the Soldiers, whom he had frequently obliged by his Liberality; ſo that in his Paſſage through *Thrace* he quickly rais'd a very powerful Army, many who by their frequent Defeats in *Italy* had been diſpers'd, and withdrawn themſelves from the Service, coming in to him; and the Barbarians inhabiting about the *Danube*, allur'd by his Fame, join'd themſelves with him, and brought him Preſents of Money and Proviſions.

On the other Hand the *Goths* were exceedingly diſpirited, eſpecially when they conſider'd they were to make War againſt the Poſterity of *Theodorich*, and to encounter with a General of conſummated Experience, and univerſally belov'd by the Soldiers; ſo that the Emperor's Affairs began to put on a new Face, and the Eyes of the whole Empire were fixed upon *Germanus*, who, as a Prelude to his future Succeſs, in his Paſſage through *Thrace* drove the *Sclavi* out of it. Theſe People, obſerving the Emperor's Forces wholly employ'd in the *Perſian* and *Italian* Wars, had paſs'd the *Danube*, to the Number of three thouſand Men, and having divided themſelves into two Bodies, waſted all *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, roving about the Country, and committing unheard of Cruelties, 'till hearing of *Germanus* his Approach, who, they conceived, was ſent General againſt them, terrified at the Apprehenſion of ſo renowned a Commander, they relinquiſh'd their former Deſigns upon *Theſſalonica*, and the Towns adjacent, and departed in a precipitate March over the Mountains of *Illyricum* into *Dalmatia*; whereupon *Germanus* ordered his Army to be ready within three Days, A. D. 551.

to march into *Italy*, where a good Number of *Roman* Soldiers, collected into one Body, were ready to receive him. But the Hand of Fate, which now lay heavy upon the *Roman* Empire, had otherwise disposed of Affairs; for *Germanus* was suddenly seiz'd with a violent Distemper, which put an end to all his great Designs, and Life together. He dy'd universally lamented by all sorts of People, being a Person of as great Excellencies as any in the Empire, for he was a good Man, a brave Soldier, and experienc'd General; just in Peace, active in War, grave and severe in the Court, but facetious and obliging at his Table; so free from lawless Ambition, or factious Contention, that tho' he was offer'd the Empire by *Artabanes* and his Accomplices, as we observ'd before, who he knew were able to make good their Offer, and tho' the Emperor had in many Respects disoblig'd him, yet he gave the World ample Proofs of his Integrity, in rejecting the Purple, and discovering the Treason.

*Germanus dies.*

Upon his Death, the *Sclavi* took fresh Courage, and made another Irruption into the *Roman* Provinces, whether induc'd to it by their own rapacious Inclinations, or hir'd by *Totilas*, who was alarm'd at the Emperor's Preparations against him, and which therefore he was willing to divert another way. They proceeded up as far as *Greece*, which they cruelly wasted, and having defeated a Party sent against 'em near *Adrianople*, they seem'd to threaten the Imperial City it self, 'till by degrees grown careless and licentious, they were at length routed, and glad to repass the *Danube* with what Booty they could carry off.

*Totilas his Progress in Sicily.*

In the mean time *Totilas* prevail'd wonderfully in *Sicily*, which he entirely conquer'd and ransack'd; for tho' the Emperor had sent *Liberius*, a Citizen of *Rome*, into that Island the Year before, and or-

der'd *Artabanes* to follow him; and tho' *Liberius* forc'd his Way into *Syracuſe* with the Fleet under his Command, and reliev'd the City, which was cloſely beſieg'd by the *Goths*, yet this Year he was ſtarv'd out of it by the Enemy, who exceeded him in Numbers, and forc'd to retire to *Palermo*, whilſt *Artabanes* his Squadron met with a greater Diſaſter, for it was diſpers'd by a furious Storm, which drove him upon the Iſland of *Malta*, where, with much Difficulty, he ſav'd himſelf. Whereupon *Totilas*, finding no Perſon in *Sicily* able to oppoſe him, left four ſufficient Garriſons in it for the Security of the Iſland, and return'd back into *Italy*, whither the Emperor had ſent *Juſtin* to Command in the room of his Father *Germanus*, and appointed *John*, the Son of *Vitalian*, and *Germanus* his Son-in-Law, to be his Lieutenants; but before theſe Generals could arrive in *Italy*, where the *Goths* prevail'd with their accuſtom'd Succeſs, the Emperor chang'd his Reſolution, and declar'd *Narſes*, the Eunuch, Generaliſſimo of all his Forces in thoſe Parts. Theſe Variations in the Emperor's Councils very much retarded his Affairs at the preſent, tho' *Narſes* prov'd afterwards a very fortunate Commander, and drove the *Goths* out of *Italy*. He was by Nation a *Perſian*, but had been long in the Service of *Juſtinian*, who made him Pay-Maſter of the Army, and a Patrician; which Honour and Truſt he very well deſerv'd, for he was a Perſon of great Capacity, and well acquainted with all Political and Military Virtues. *Evagrius* tells us he was ſo regular in his Devotion, and apply'd himſelf ſo frequently in his Prayers to God, that the Virgin *Mary* appear'd to him, and preſcrib'd him the Seaſons proper for him to engage the Enemy, with whom he never encounter'd before he had firſt receiv'd a Sign from Heaven: Though this Account ſavours ſomething

A. D. 540. Narſes *declar'd General in* Italy.

of a Fable, yet it ſuffices to ſhow how requiſite a regular and exemplary Devotion is to the Office and Duty of a General. But before we attend him into *Italy*, it will be convenient to take a ſhort view of Affairs in the Eaſt, at leaſt ſo much of 'em as are interwoven with thoſe of the Empire.

*Choſroes* being frighten'd into a Retreat by *Beliſarius*, after a long and expenſive Expedition, advanc'd Northward as far as *Ardibigara*, a Town in *Aſſyria*, where he began to reflect upon his ignominious Flight, as he then term'd it, and reſolv'd once more to invade the *Roman* Territories, being encouraged to it by his *Perſian* Prieſts, and a ſhameful Overthrow of thirty thouſand *Romans*, who taking the Advantage of the Difficulties *Choſroes* then laboured under (for his Territories were grievouſly viſited by the Plague before-mention'd, and his Son had conſpir'd againſt him) invaded *Perſermenia*, and were defeated by *Nabades*, who drew 'em firſt into an Ambuſh, and after that entirely defeated 'em: The *Romans* fled with ſo much Precipitation, that they deſtroy'd all their Horſes in the Flight, and loſt ſuch a great quantity of Arms, and all their Baggage, that the whole State of *Perſia* appear'd viſibly enrich'd by ſo important and unexpected a Victory. Upon this Succeſs *Choſroes* made an Inroad into *Meſopotamia*, where, in the Opinion of *Evagrius* and *Procopius*, he ſeem'd to war againſt God rather than Man, and therefore met with a Succeſs ſuitable to his Irreligion and Impiety. In his firſt Invaſion he had been forc'd to retire from before *Edeſſa*, without performing any thing againſt that City, and grew very much incens'd to think he ſhould be thus ſhamefully overcome by the God of the Chriſtians; for which reaſon he threaten'd now to make the Inhabitants Slaves in ſpight of the Deity that protected them, and turn their City into a Paſture for

*The* Romans *defeated by the* Perſians.

Choſroes *Beſieges* Edeſſa;

for Cattle; but notwithſtanding theſe preſumptuous Menaces, he receiv'd ſuch a Repulſe upon his firſt Attempt, that he was willing the Citizens ſhould buy their Safety with a round Sum of Money; for he apprehended a ſecond Diſgrace before the Town, and his Apprehenſions were improv'd by ſeveral Dreams, and other ſuperſtitious Obſervations. Hereupon a Conference was procur'd, wherein he demanded all the Treaſure in the City, which the Beſieg'd, with much Indignation, refus'd, and he in great Fury commanded the Works to be carry'd on. He rais'd a prodigious Machine, which overlook'd the Walls of *Edeſſa*, from whence he play'd without Intermiſſion upon the Town, eaſily defeating thoſe who appeared in its defence. The *Romans* on the other ſide drew a Mine, which they continu'd 'till they came under the middle of the Machine, but then finding the *Perſians* had diſcover'd and were countermining 'em, they ſtopp'd the Work, and dug a hollow Vault hard by, filling it with dry Logs ſteep'd in the Oil of Cedar and *Aſſyrian* Pitch; to this they ſet Fire, which prevailing at length, forc'd the *Perſians* to abandon the Work.

*Choſroes*, perceiving his Machine was diſabled, and that his Labour and Expence had been hitherto unſucceſsful, ſate ſtill in his Trenches for ſeveral Days, thinking to lull the Inhabitants into a fatal Security, and then fall unexpectedly upon 'em. In this Deſign he had unavoidably ſucceeded, had not a Peaſant awaken'd the Watch, and warn'd 'em of the Enemy's Approach. The *Romans*, being thus alarm'd, receiv'd the Aſſailants with ſo much Vigour, that they drove the *Perſians* with great Slaughter back to their Camp, and ſeiz'd on their Ladders which they had us'd in the Aſſault. This Attempt was follow'd by two or three more; in all which the *Perſians* miſcarry'd, and *Choſroes* was ſo diſcourag'd, that upon ſome very reaſonable Conditions he agreed

*but raiſes the Siege.* to raiſe the Siege, and never more infeſt the *Roman* Territories; accordingly he demoliſh'd his Works, and return'd with his Army into *Perſia.*

The Chriſtian Reader will readily aſcribe the Safety of this City to the immediate Aſſiſtance of God Almighty, whoſe Power and Protection viſibly appear'd in the Preſervation of it, without attributing it to the efficacious Virtue of a pretended Image of our Saviour, thrown, in their Extremity, by the beſieg'd into the Vault, which, ſetting Fire to the Wood pil'd up in it, conſum'd the Machine, render'd the Flame unquenchable, and conſtrain'd *Choſroes* to raiſe the Siege. However, we may obſerve from this Account, that the Uſe of Images began firſt in thoſe Days to prevail in the Church, as did likewiſe the Veneration of Relicks; tho' as yet no outward Adoration or Religious Worſhip was paid to either, but was a Novelty, not properly ſaid to be eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd 'till the Eighth Century, as we may have Occaſion to obſerve hereafter.

*Choſroes*, tho' ſhamefully diſappointed in his laſt Attempts, and tho' he had conſented to a Truce for five Years with *Juſtinian*, could not continue idle at home, but apply'd himſelf to ſome new Projects. The *Lazians*, who had revolted from the *Romans*, and embrac'd the Protection of the *Perſians*, grew weary of their new Maſters, at the ſame time that *Choſroes* earneſtly deſir'd to gain an abſolute Poſſeſſion of the whole Country, which he knew lay very commodious for the reſt of his Dominions; for being once Maſter there, he could curb the *Iberians*, reſtrain the *Huns* from their Incurſions into the *Perſian* Provinces, and favour 'em in any Deſigns they had upon the *Roman* Territories; for *Lazica* was the only Barrier againſt the Barbarians of Mount *Caucaſus*: It would open the *Perſians* a Paſſage into the *Euxian* Sea, facilitate the Conqueſt

*His Deſigns upon* Lazica.

of

of *Cappadocia*, *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, and lead 'em up to the very Gates of *Conſtantinople* itſelf. He knew the *Lazians* were no way pleas'd with their late Change, but very averſe to the Humour and Diſpoſition, as well as Religion of the *Perſians*, and therefore the more likely to effect an Alteration, which he was reſolv'd, if poſſible, to prevent: the beſt Expedient for which he thought was to murder *Gubazes* their King, to tranſport the Natives, and People the Country with *Perſians* and others, who would be well-affected to his Intereſt. Theſe his Deſigns were diſcover'd to *Gubazes*, by ſome whom the King of *Perſia* had employ'd to effect 'em, and by *Gubazes* to the Emperor, from whom he begg'd Pardon, in the Name of his Subjects, for what was paſs'd, and his Aſſiſtance and Protection for the future. The Emperor readily embrac'd the Opportunity, and ſent him eight thouſand Men under the Command of *Dagiſthæus*, a young unexperienc'd Officer, uncapable of any Warlike Undertaking.

However, having join'd his Forces with thoſe of the *Lazians*, he ſate down before *Petra*, which was garriſon'd by the *Perſians*, and ſtor'd with all manner of Proviſions. *Choſroes*, alarm'd at this ſudden Revolution, ſent a great Army of Horſe and Foot, under the Conduct of *Mermeroes*, his High Chamberlain, to the Relief of the Place; of which *Gubazes* being adviſ'd, he by his Letters deſir'd *Dagiſthæus* to detach Part of his Forces to ſecure the Paſſage beyond the *Phaſis*, and with the reſt puſh on the Siege 'till he was Maſter of the Town, whilſt he march'd with his own Army to the Borders of *Lazica*, for the Security of another Paſſage, and hir'd ſome *Alans* to defend thoſe Parts. But *Dagiſthæus*, inſtead of ſending Forces ſufficient to make good the Paſſage, and appearing in Perſon at the Action, detach'd no more than two hundred

dred of his Men, and with the reſt did little or nothing againſt *Petra*, which he had often an Opportunity of taking, and which he as often neglected. By this means he gave *Mermeroes* an Opportunity of obtaining the Paſs, with the Loſs of no more than a thouſand *Perſians*; whereupon *Dagiſthæus* rais'd the Siege, and fled in a great Conſternation toward the *Phaſis*, leaving his Camp to be rifled by the Garriſon. *Mermeroes* proceeded at the Head of his Army to *Petra*, the Garriſon of which Place conſiſted at firſt of fifteen hundred Men, but were now reduc'd to three hundred and fifty, two hundred of which were diſabled and unfit for Service. At his Arrival he could not but admire and commend the Courage, Fidelity and Self-denial of the Defendants, who rather than caſt the dead Bodies from the Walls, and thereby let the Beſiegers know how much their Numbers were weaken'd, choſe to keep 'em within the City, and ſuffer themſelves to be almoſt ſtifled with the Stench. He repair'd the Breaches in the beſt manner he could, and garriſon'd the Town with three thouſand Men; after which he return'd with the reſt of his Army into *Perſermenia*; for he was unable to diſtreſs *Lazica*, tho' he had forc'd the Paſſage, becauſe he had no Ships to paſs the River, which riſing out of the *Armenian* Mountains, runs through the whole Country, and is navigable for Ships of Burden eighteen Miles from the Sea. Beſides, he knew *Juſtinian* was preparing to aſſiſt *Gubazes* with Supplies, as well of Money as of a ſtrong Army, under the Conduct of *Recithangus*, a *Thracian* by Birth, who had been bred up in the Wars from his Infancy, and was an experienc'd General.

At his Departure he left a Body of five thouſand Men, under the Command of *Fabrozas* and other Commanders, who had Orders to coaſt upon the Confines of *Lazica*, to get what Proviſions they

they could, and tranſport all they were able to ſpare to *Petra*, for the Preſervation of which Place he was very ſollicitous. Of this when *Gubazes* was inform'd, he join'd himſelf with *Dagiſthæus*, and both together fell firſt upon a thouſand of the *Perſians*, who had been ſent out as a flying Guard to gain Intelligence, and ſecure the Camp from any Surprize: Of this Party not one eſcap'd, but were all either ſlain or taken Priſoners. Encourag'd by this Succeſs, and being inform'd by the Captives, of the Condition of the Camp, they unexpectedly ſet upon the main Body of the *Perſians* in the Dead of Night, and eaſily defeated 'em; purſuing 'em with much Execution up into *Iberia*, and cutting off ſeveral other *Perſian* Troops they met with in the Purſuit, who were conveying ſome Meal and other Proviſions into *Petra*, all the Avenues to which they now ſeiz'd upon, and ſo block'd up all Acceſs to the Town. In this Action the *Romans* became Maſters of the Enemies Camp, with all their Enſigns and Baggage, together with great Quantities of Arms, Mules, and Horſes.

*The* Perſians *defeated in* Lazica.

When *Choſroes* was inform'd of this Overthrow, he ſent *Corianes*, an old experienc'd Commander, at the Head of a conſiderable Army, conſiſting of *Alans* as well as *Perſians*, into *Lazica*, which he was willing to conquer, whatever it coſt him. For tho' he had often invaded the *Roman* Territories, and done unexpreſſible Miſchiefs to the Empire, yet he always return'd with much Loſs, which render'd him very ungrateful to the People, who call'd him *The Deſtroyer of their Nation*; but now he hop'd, by getting this Country into his Power, to obliterate the Memory of all his former Miſcarriages. *Corianes* advanc'd with his Army to the River *Hippus*, the greateſt in the whole Country of *Cholcis*, where *Gubazes* and *Dagiſthæus* fell upon him, ſlew him, and overthrew his Army. The

*Perſians*

*Perſians* loſt the Camp, and the beſt of their Officers, together with a great Number of common Soldiers; they that ſurviv'd return'd home with a melancholy Account of the Invaſion.

In the mean time, *Dagiſthæus*, whoſe Succeſs was owing more to Fortune and the Courage of *Gubazes* than his own Conduct, was, upon ſome Complaints preferr'd againſt him, recall'd; and *Beſſas* the late Governor of *Rome*, was ſent in his ſtead, with expreſs Orders to recover *Petra* out of the Hands of the *Perſians*, who for a long time defended it with much Courage and Reſolution. *Beſſas* never behav'd himſelf with more Conduct and Gallantry than in this Service; he was an old Man, upwards of Seventy Years of Age, and encourag'd his Soldiers by the moſt powerful Exhortations, Examples of his own Valour. He mounted the Scaling-Ladder himſelf, and tho' he once fell from it, to the exceeding great Hazard of his Life, he return'd with an obſtinate Bravery, which made the *Romans* puſh on with an invincible Conſtancy, and gain by Inches upon the *Perſians*, who were as obſtinate in the Defence. The beſieg'd had rais'd a great wooden Tower, from which they diſcharg'd Balls of Fire upon the *Roman* Rams, and at firſt put 'em into great Confuſion, 'till part of the Tower took Fire, by means of a ſtrong Southerly Wind which drove full upon it, and conſum'd the miſerable *Perſians* that were in it, before they had time to ſhift for themſelves. In the mean while, *John Gazes*, an *Armenian*, follow'd by ſeveral of his Countrymen, mounted a Rock where the City was thought impregnable, and which was ſaid to have given Name to it, whilſt both the *Romans* and *Perſians* were engag'd on other Parts of the Wall; ſo that this, together with the unfortunate Accident of the Tower, open'd an eaſie Paſſage to the *Romans*, who by this means enter'd the Town, and took

Beſſas *ſent General againſt the* Perſians.

Petra *taken by the* Romans.

took all the *Perſians*, except five hundred, who retir'd into the Caſtle, which, notwithſtanding all the Threats and Perſuaſions *Beſſas* could uſe, made it good againſt him 'till he ſet it on Fire, and then they periſh'd in the Flames together with it. They that were taken were ſeven hundred and thirty in Number, being all that were left of two thouſand three hundred, and of whom no more than eighteen were unwounded; ſo deſperately obſtinate were they in the Defence of a Place, which the King of *Perſia* judg'd to be of the laſt Conſequence, as ſufficiently appears by placing the choiceſt of his Men in it, and ſupplying it with ſo large a Proviſion of Arms and Victuals; for the *Romans* found in the Town five Mens Furniture for every Soldier, and as much Corn and ſalted Meat as would have ſupply'd a Siege of five Years Continuance.

*Beſſas* demoliſh'd the Walls of *Petra*, and ſent all the Priſoners he had taken to *Juſtinian*, who highly commended him for his Valour and Conduct, which in ſome meaſure had been an Attonement for his ill Adminiſtration at *Rome*, and ſilenc'd the Murmurs of the People, who complain'd loudly againſt the Emperor for committing the Conduct of the Eaſtern War to a decrepit old Man, who had ſo notoriouſly ruin'd the *Roman* Intereſt by his Management in the Weſt. And indeed that Succeſs, which was chiefly owing to his Courage and Conduct, was ſhortly after ruin'd by his Precipitancy and Avarice. Had he, after the Reduction of *Petra*, fortify'd the Paſſes between *Iberia* and *Lazica*, he might have prevented the *Perſians* from entring into the Country; but inſtead of this, he retir'd into *Pontus* and *Armenia*, his own Government, there to ſcrape up what Riches he could, without engaging himſelf any farther in the Fatigues of War, and ſo in a manner quitted *Lazica* to the Enemy, for he left no more than twelve thouſand Men in the Coun-

try,

try, three thousand of which were garrison'd in *Archæopolis*, the chief City of all *Lazica*, the rest lay encamp'd near the *Phasis*, under the Command of *Odonachus*, with Orders to succour any Place that wanted their Assistance. *Mermeroes* hearing *Petra* was lost, and which as soon as the Season would permit he was preparing to relieve, march'd towards *Archæopolis*; but being inform'd of the Disposition of the *Roman* Army, and unwilling to leave the Enemy at his Back, fac'd about, and directed his Course towards *Odonachus*; who, tho' he was a faithful and experienc'd Commander, finding himself unable to contend with *Mermeroes*, who far exceeded him in Numbers of Men, embark'd his Army in some Vessels riding at Anchor near his Camp, and carried with him all the Baggage he could get on Board, and cast the rest into the River, and so left an empty Camp to *Mermeroes*; who arriving shortly after, in a great Rage to be thus deluded of his expected Booty, set it on Fire; after which he return'd to *Archæopolis*, with an earnest Desire to get the Place; before which he receiv'd a remarkable Defeat, in a Sally made by the Defendants, which obliged him to raise the Siege, and employ his Army in taking other Forts in the Country, in which he grew more powerful every Day, especially after another Truce was agreed upon between both the Crowns for five Years longer.

For all this while the King of *Persia* was negotiating a Peace by his Ambassadors at *Constantinople*, where they manag'd their Business with so much Address, that the Emperor at length consented to buy a Cessation with an immense Sum of Money; which looking more like a Tribute than the Result of an honourable Agreement, rais'd great Discontents among the People, who complain'd that the *Persians* had now gain'd their Ends by vertue of a

Treaty,

Treaty, which they never could obtain in the Field; that their main Ambition for a long time had been to make the *Romans* their Tributaries, which they had now effected under Colour of a Ceſſation of Arms. Indeed this Truce contributed very much to the total Loſs of *Lazica*, which was ſolely owing to that, and a Miſunderſtanding that unſeaſonably aroſe between *Gubazes* and the Officers ſent into that Country by the Emperor, of which you ſhall hear more hereafter.

VIII. But tho' Fortune ſeem'd to retard the Progreſs of the Emperor's Affairs in the Eaſt, ſhe appear'd more favourable to him in *Italy*, whither *Narſes* was ſent to command his Armies, as has been obſerv'd before. Tho' *Narſes* undertook the Service with much Chearfulneſs, and was a Perſon of approv'd Fidelity to the Emperor, yet the neceſſary Preparations requiſite for his Expedition, met with ſo many Obſtacles, that *Totilas* grew exceedingly elevated, and ſcorning to confine himſelf and his Arms to *Italy*, he mann'd out a Fleet, conſiſting of three hundred Sail, which made a Deſcent into *Greece*, and pillaging the Iſle of *Corfu*, ſail'd up into the *Peloponneſus*, where ſeveral Veſſels of the *Romans* fell into their Hands, among whom were ſome of the Tranſport Ships loaden with Proviſions for *Narſes* and his Army. In the mean time *Totilas*, who continu'd in *Italy*, had block'd up *Ancona* by Sea and Land, the only Town upon that Coaſt remaining to the Emperor. *Valerianus* was then at *Ravenna*, but being too weak to relieve it, he ſent an Account of the Condition the Place was in to *John*, who had been ſent by the Emperor to command in *Italy*, as we obſerv'd before; but Wintering with his Forces at *Salonæ*, was, by freſh Inſtructions, order'd to wait there for the Arrival of *Narſes*. Tho' he paid a great

great Reſpect to the Emperor's Commands, yet, conſidering the Importance of *Ancona*, and the Extremity to which it was reduc'd, he ventur'd to diſobey his Orders; and having Shipp'd the beſt of his Men in forty Veſſels, he appear'd before *Ancona*, where *Valerianus* join'd him with a Squadron of twelve more. Againſt theſe the *Goths* Mann'd out forty-ſeven of their beſt Ships, and Engag'd them; but being unexperienc'd in Sea Fights, and unable to govern their Veſſels, they were eaſily defeated, and loſt all but eleven of their Ships, which they themſelves ſet on Fire after they were landed, to prevent their falling into the Enemy's Hands. The *Goths* which lay before *Ancona*, hearing their Fleet was loſt, broke up in great haſte, and left the Camp to the *Roman* Generals, who, having reinforc'd the Garriſon, ſail'd away, *Valerianus* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salonæ*. This Defeat very much impair'd the Intereſt of *Totilas*, and dejected his Followers, eſpecially when they were inform'd that *Artabanes* had recover'd all the Caſtles from the *Goths* in *Sicily*, from whence he ſent a powerful Aſſiſtance of Men and Ammunition to the *Romans* beſieg'd in *Crotona*, which forc'd the *Goths* to raiſe the Siege, and at the ſame time they abandon'd *Tarentum*, which was immediately ſecur'd for the Emperor. This ſudden turn of Fortune, that began to frown upon the *Goths*, affected no one more than *Totilas* himſelf; having often apply'd to the Emperor by his Ambaſſadors, he knew he was reſolv'd againſt an Accommodation upon any Terms whatever, and that he hated the very Name of a *Goth*; and tho' at firſt he ſeem'd regardleſs of the War, yet he found that now he appear'd in earneſt. *Narſes* drew near with a very gallant Army, and Money to pay off all the Arrears due to the Forces in *Italy*. He was attended not only by ſuch Troops as at a very great Expence

*The* Goths *beaten at Sea.*

pence he had been raiſing himſelf, which for Numbers of Men, and Proviſions of Arms, and all other Neceſſaries, appear'd like an Army worthy the ancient Grandure of the *Roman* Majeſty, but by great Bodies of Auxiliaries, who chearfully followed his Enſigns; the *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, *Hunns*, *Lombards*, and ſeveral Fugitive *Perſians* rang'd themſelves under his Banners, a great many old *Roman* Officers, with their Independant Companies, ſerv'd under him, and nothing was wanting that might advance his Honour, or add a Terror to his Enemies.

Being advanc'd as far as the Confines of *Venetia*, where ſeveral of the *Franks* had plac'd themſelves, as we obſerv'd before, they reſolutely deny'd him Paſſage; ſo that by the Advice of *John*, who was perfectly acquainted with thoſe Parts, he paſs'd along the Sea-Coaſt, and got ſafe with his whole Army to *Ravenna*, where he was join'd by *Valerianus* and *Juſtin*, to the great Confuſion of *Totilas*, who thought it very improbable he would attempt to march that Way, by reaſon of the many Rivers that diſcharg'd themſelves into the Sea, and therefore had poſted *Teias*, his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, a valiant Captain, with the choiceſt of his Army, at *Verona*, where they had render'd all the Paſſages very incommodious, and were prepar'd to fight the *Romans* if they advanc'd on that Side, as they expected. Narſes *arrives at* Ravenna.

Having ſtaid a few Days in *Ravenna* to refreſh his Army, he took the Field, and directed his Courſe towards *Rome*; paſſing the *Rubicon* near *Ariminum*, or *Rimini*, he kill'd the Governor of the Garriſon, plac'd there by *Totilas*, who ſally'd out with a Deſign to ſurprize him: Without ſtaying before that City, which was much diſhearten'd by the Death of the Governor, he proceeded onward, and encamp'd upon the *Apennine*, near that Place which was memorable for the Defeat the *Gauls*

receiv'd from *Camillus*, the *Roman* Dictator, and was call'd *Busta Gallorum*, becauſe they that were Slain were bury'd in it; to this Place *Totilas* was likewiſe advanc'd, with a Reſolution of fighting the *Romans* upon the firſt Advantage. Here *Narſes* ſent to *Totilas*, adviſing him *to liſten to peaceable Councils, and not contend with the whole Strength of the* Roman *Empire*; but he order'd the Meſſengers to bid him appoint a Day for a pitch'd Battel, in caſe they found him reſolv'd for War. *Totilas* receiv'd 'em with an undaunted Reſolution, declar'd loudly for the War, and bade 'em inform *Narſes*, *That eight Days after he would not fail to meet him.* *Narſes*, ſuſpecting ſome Deſign in this Delay, prepar'd as if he was to fight the Day following, in which he did very wiſely, for *Totilas* advanc'd with his whole Army in Order of Battel. There was a little Hill, which ſtood near both Camps, and both had a Deſire to gain it for Advantage of upper Ground. *Narſes* by Night ſent fifty Men, who ſeiz'd it without any Oppoſition, and, being ſupported by freſh Supplies, maintain'd their Poſt ſo well, that *Totilas* could not diſlodge 'em, tho' he attempted it three times together.

Before the Fight began, *Cocas*, a bold and valiant *Goth*, advanc'd before the Ranks, and challenged any one on the *Roman* ſide to a ſingle Combat; the Challenge was readily accepted by an *Armenian*, who kill'd his Adverſary, and therein gave the *Romans* a Pledge of their future Victory. *Totilas* had all that Day expected to be join'd by two thouſand Horſe, who being near at hand, he endeavour'd to delay the Fight 'till their Arrival; accordingly he ſent an Offer of a Parly to *Narſes*, and ſpun out the Time ſo long 'till they were come up to the reſt of the Army; after which he drew the Army off, and commanded his Men to Dine, then ſhifting his Armour, he led 'em out

ſuddenly againſt the Enemy, thinking to ſurprize 'em; but *Narſes*, who was apprehenſive of his Deſign, forbad his Troops to ſtir from the Spot, but commanded them to take a Morſel as they ſtood, and to have a watchful Eye upon the Enemy. *Totilas*, tho' otherwiſe an experienc'd and renowned Captain, committed a great Overſight that Day, which in a great meaſure contributed to his Deſtruction; for he commanded his Men to uſe no other than their Lances, call'd *Pili*, whereby he render'd 'em very much inferior in their offenſive Weapons to the *Romans*, who us'd both Arrows and Lances, and ſuch other Weapons as Occaſion and the Courſe of Battle requir'd, fighting either on Horſeback, or on Foot, ſometimes charging, and at others ſurrounding the Enemy. This Advantage, together with that great Alacrity and Confidence which aroſe from their late Succeſs, and the proſperous Condition of their Affairs, made 'em fight with ſo much Courage, that the *Goths* were broken at the firſt Onſet, and at laſt put to Flight, after they had loſt ſix thouſand of their Men, who were kill'd upon the Spot, beſides thoſe that fell in the Purſuit. The King himſelf finding the Day irrecoverably loſt, fled with five of his Followers in the Dark, and was purſu'd by a Commander of the *Gepidæ*, call'd *Aſbadus*, who, without knowing who he was, gave him a mortal Wound with his Lance, of which he dy'd ſhortly after, and was bury'd by his Subjects at a Town call'd *Capræ*, after he had reign'd upwards of eleven Years, with much Honour and Reputation for his Valour, Prudence, Juſtice and Liberality. Upon his firſt Advancement to the Crown, he found the Affairs of the *Goths* in a very deplorable Condition, which however proſper'd ſo well under his Adminiſtration, that he recover'd to his Countrymen almoſt the entire Dominion of

A. D. 553. *The* Goths *defeated.*

Totilas *ſlain.*

*Italy*, and took Captive twice the Capital City of the Univerſe. And indeed his Nation receiv'd a fatal Stroke in his Death, for after him their Power and Sovereignty declin'd apace, ſo that in a ſhort time after, the very Name of that People was loſt in *Italy*, at leaſt they were ſo blended in Blood and Intereſt with the Native *Italians*, that they grew into one Nation.

The *Romans*, who knew nothing of the King's Death, continu'd in a full Purſuit after him, 'till a *Gothick* Woman aſſur'd 'em of his Death, and ſhow'd 'em where he was bury'd: They look'd upon his Death, and the Certainty of it, to be of ſo great Conſequence, that they would not believe the Report 'till they had digg'd up the Coffin; and when upon Examination they found it true, they re-interr'd it, and haſten'd with an Account of all to *Narſes*, who immediately return'd Thanks to God Almighty for ſo important a Victory, and diſmiſs'd the *Lombards*, who were grown infinitely unruly, burning Houſes, and raviſhing Women, tho' they had taken Sanctuary in the Churches.

The *Goths* that eſcap'd the Swords of the *Romans* fled over the *Po*, and aſſembling themſelves in the *Picentine*, they there made choice of *Teias* for their King, who was eſteem'd the moſt valiant Man of their Nation, and had ſignaliz'd himſelf upon ſeveral Occaſions in the Reign of *Totilas*. His firſt Care was to ſecure his Predeceſſor's Treaſure, with which he endeavour'd to draw the *Franks* into his Aſſiſtance, doing every thing for the Advantage of his Subjects that became a valiant and careful Commander; in the mean time, *Narſes* making a right Uſe of his Victory, commanded *Valerianus* to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy, and prevent their uniting themſelves about the *Po*, whilſt he, with the reſt of the Army, march'd towards *Rome*, taking in ſeveral Towns in his way.

Teias *choſen King.*

*Totilas*,

*Totilas*, before *Narſes* his Arrival in *Italy*, having burnt moſt of *Rome*, and conſidering he had not Men enough to guard the whole Circuit of the Town, had ſurrounded the ſtrongeſt and moſt defenſible Part of it, near *Adrian*'s Tomb, with a new Wall, and form'd it into the Nature of a Caſtle, which the *Goths* now took Care to Man with the beſt of their Nation, neglecting the other Parts. By this means they found themſelves able to oppoſe the *Romans* for ſome time, but were in the iſſue forc'd to give Place to the prevailing Power of their Enemies; and, after having loſt the Town, ſurrender'd the Caſtle upon aſſurance of their Lives, and *Narſes* ſent the Keys of the City to *Conſtantinople*. Thus was *Rome* once more recover'd to the Obedience of *Juſtinian*, forc'd ſtill, like a Sycophant, to follow the Intereſt of the moſt fortunate. This Victory, which prov'd of great Conſequence to the Emperor's Affairs, was however very prejudicial to the *Roman* Senate; for the *Goths*, who now deſpair'd of the Dominion of *Italy*, kill'd all the Senators that fell into their Hands; ſuch of them as *Totilas* had confin'd to *Campania*, and who, upon the Report that *Rome* was recover'd by *Narſes*, were returning to the City, were miſerably murder'd by the *Goths* Quarter'd upon the Road, who left not one Patrician alive. Three hundred young Gentlemen, Sons of the Principal *Romans*, had been ſent by *Totilas* beyond the *Po*, as Hoſtages, upon his firſt ſetting out againſt *Narſes*, and were now all kill'd by *Teias*; ſo fatal was this Victory to many private Perſons, which prov'd of ſo much Advantage to the Publick.

*Teias*, during the Siege of *Rome*, had diſpos'd the beſt part of the Royal Treaſure in the Caſtle of *Cuma*, and ſecur'd it with a ſtrong Garriſon; upon Notice whereof, *Narſes* detatch'd a ſtrong Par- A. D. 554.

ty to Beſiege the Caſtle, and another to Attempt *Centumcellæ*, whilſt he himſelf ſtaid behind to repair the Breaches of the Wall, and Ruins of the City. *Teias*, who knew of what Conſequence the Loſs of *Cumæ* would prove, prepar'd to prevent it by a Battel, and march'd accordingly with the Strength of all his Forces to cover it; which when *Narſes* underſtood, he ſent ſome Troops to intercept his Paſſage through *Tuſcany*; but he fetching a large Compaſs by the Sea-Coaſt, declin'd the direct Road, and ſo got into *Campania*; whereupon *Narſes* remanded his Foeces, and march'd thither with his whole Army, in order to fight him.. *Teias* encamp'd on one ſide the River *Draco*, near the City *Nuceria*, and *Narſes* on the other: The *Goths* being firſt in the Field, had ſeiz'd the Bridge, on which they built ſeveral Forts, and ſo had the Command of the River, and being Maſters at Sea, ſeem'd to have the better of their Enemies. But *Narſes* found means to have their Ships betray'd to him, and being reinforc'd by ſeveral Veſſels out of *Sicily*, he thereby conſtrain'd the *Goths*, through want of Proviſions, to betake themſelves to the Faſtneſſes of the Mountains, where they ſoon repented of their Change, for they labour'd there under greater Difficulties than before: Wherefore chuſing rather to die like Men in Battel, than periſh by Famine, they deſcended ſuddenly, and fell reſolutely upon the *Romans*, whom they took unprovided to receive them, and thereby gave a beginning to a very bloody Fight. The *Goths* were grown deſperate, and reſolv'd to venture all, and the *Romans* choſe to die on the ſpot, rather than yield ſhamefully to their vanquiſh'd Enemies: The Obſtinacy of the Combatants, and the Blood that was ſpilt on both ſides, made this Battel, in *Procopius* his Opinion, as remarkable as any that had been fought formerly by the great Heroes

*A ſecond Battel, wherein the* Goths *are worſted.*

roes of Antiquity, tho' he confeſſes it was remarkable for nothing ſo much as the conſpicuous Valour of *Teias*; he, knowing the Fate of *Italy* depended upon the Fortune of that Day, ſtood in the firſt Rank, holding out his Shield, and ſhaking his Lance in Defiance of his Enemies. The *Romans*, who had diſcover'd his Perſon, and knew his Death would put an End to the Controverſie, directed their whole Force againſt him, ſome thruſting at him with their Spears, and others plying him with their Darts, which he receiv'd on his Shield, and kill'd many of the Aſſailants, who with all their Strength were not able to drive him out of the Rank, nor force him to quit one Inch of Ground, or bend back upon his Target, 'till having ſhifted his Shield three times that Day, which was as often loaded with the Darts of the *Romans*, in the third Change he left his Breaſt expos'd naked, and was that Moment wounded by a Javelin, of which he inſtantly dy'd, and with him the Hopes of the *Goths*, who however gave not over the Fight 'till the Night parted them. Both Parties lay in their Armour 'till the Morning, and then they began again with freſh Appetite, nor would their ſavage Courage ſuffer 'em to give over 'till the ſecond Night, their Hatred to each other carrying 'em through all Difficulties; for the *Goths* knew they were now contending for their laſt Stake, and the *Romans* ſcorn'd to deſer their Fortune to a ſecond Trial. At length the *Goths* were obliged to yield to the prevailing Numbers of the *Romans*, and conſented to lay down their Arms, upon Condition they might be ſuffer'd to enjoy their Goods and Poſſeſſions without Moleſtation, paying a certain Tribute to the Emperor. This was agreed to by *Narſes*, and the Benefit of the Agreement extended to all the reſt of the *Goths* in *Italy* that voluntarily ſurrender'd themſelves.

Teias ſlain.

In the mean time, notwithſtanding the Terror of this Victory, and the favourable Condeſcenſions granted by *Narſes*, *Cuma* held out againſt the *Romans*, which *Teias* had committed to the Charge of *Aligern* his Brother, who upon this Occaſion gave great Proofs of his Strength and Activity. He depended much upon the Aſſiſtance of the *Franks* and *Germans*, who, to the Number of ſixty thouſand Men and upwards, Subjects of *Theudebald*, or *Tibaud*, Son of *Theodebert* King of *Mets*, were enter'd *Italy*; the *Germans* were commanded by *Leutharis*, and the *Franks* by *Bucelinus*, two Brothers, *Germans* by Nation, but in ſuch great Credit with *Theudebald*, a weak unactive Prince, averſe to any Military Attempts, that by their ſole Authority they got the Propoſals of the *Goths* to be embrac'd, and were the Life of the Expedition, which they outwardly pretended was undertaken for the Aſſiſtance of the *Goths*, who promis'd to chuſe *Bucelin* for their King, tho' in effect they intended nothing leſs than to make themſelves abſolute in *Italy*. *Narſes* march'd with his Army into *Tuſcany*, and ſent a Detachment before, to oppoſe the *Franks*, whilſt he took in ſeveral Towns that ſtill continu'd poſſeſs'd by the *Goths* in thoſe Parts; moſt of 'em voluntarily ſurrender'd: *Luca* only continu'd obſtinate, and gave him an Opportunity of manifeſting not ſo much the Strength of his Arms, as the noble Temper of his Mind. The Citizens had promis'd *Narſes* to ſurrender, if they were not reliev'd by a certain Time, and had deliver'd up their Hoſtages accordingly; but tho' the Day was elaps'd before any Relief appear'd, they ſtill continu'd obſtinate, and refus'd to open their Gates. *Narſes*, tho' much offended at this Affront, bore it with much Moderation, tho' the Hoſtages were in his Power, by which means he had his Revenge in his own Hands. However, he found a Way to frighten the Defendants,

*The* Franks *and* Germans *move to the Aſſiſtance of the* Goths.

dants, and by a feign'd Execution let 'em know what they had deſerv'd; for having rais'd a Scaffold at a juſt Diſtance from the Walls, he preſented the Hoſtages to the View of the Inhabitants as prepar'd for Death, and by the Behaviour of the Executioners, the feign'd Conſternation of the Attendants, and the Motion of the Axes, made 'em believe he had puniſh'd their Perfidy by a real Tragedy, tho' it was no more than an artificial Repreſentation of it. The Relations of the Hoſtages, being thus deluded by their Senſes, in loud Cries and Lamentations revil'd *Narſes* for his cruel and impious Reſentment: He anſwer'd, *He had done no more than their Treachery had deſerv'd*; however he promis'd 'em *to work a Miracle for their ſakes, if by a ſpeedy Repentance they could deſerve it*; aſſuring 'em *that upon their Submiſſion he would preſent all the Hoſtages alive into their Hands.* They laugh'd at his Preſumption, in pretending to raiſe the Dead, yet made a ſcornful Promiſe to open the Gates ſo ſoon as they ſhould find their Friends were ſafe; thinking, at the ſame time, that the Impoſſibility of the Condition would neceſſarily releaſe them from the Performance of the Bargain: But they no ſooner beheld their Relations alive, tho' not out of Danger, before they return'd to their old Obſtinacy, and refus'd to yield the City. Then did *Narſes* give the World a remarkable Inſtance of a truly *Roman* Magnanimity, for he diſmiſs'd the Hoſtages without any Ranſom, ſending 'em back into the Town with this Meſſage, *That it was beneath him to flatter any with vain Hopes, and unworthy in them thus to impoſe upon him; aſſuring 'em, that unleſs they ſpeedily ſubmitted, his Sword ſhould force 'em to ſurrender, without the help of their Hoſtages.* Theſe Men being thus diſcharg'd, and received into the City, highly extoll'd the Magnanimity, Juſtice and Clemency of *Narſes*; and their loud

loud Encomiums upon his Virtue prov'd more effectual than all his Battering Rams and Engines; for the moſt forward and refractory among 'em were conſenting to yield, when News came that the Army he had ſent to the *Po*, to ſtop the Irruptions of the *Franks*, was entirely defeated thro' the Temerity of *Fulcaris*, Captain of the *Hunns*; who being an Officer of more Courage than Diſcretion, contrary to the Orders of *Narſes*, had made an Excurſion up to the Gates of *Parma*, where he was ſlain, and his Men routed; whereupon the reſt of the Officers, who where poſted in thoſe Parts, to ſerve as a Rampart againſt the *Franks*, retir'd in great Haſte to *Faventia*. This Accident alter'd the Meaſures of the Beſieg'd, who grew more confident of Relief than ever, and *Narſes* found his Affairs much entangled by it; but accommodating himſelf to the preſent Exigency in the beſt manner he could, he encourag'd his deſponding Soldiers in a chearful Speech, and prevail'd with the Officers lying at *Faventia* to return to their former Quarters in the *Parmeſan*; and all this was done with the greateſt Expedition imaginable; after which *Narſes* bloc'd up *Luca* more cloſely than ever, for he was much affronted at their unhandſome Carriage towards him; but when the Beſieged ſaw the Rams approaching, and all things prepar'd for an Aſſault, they ſuffer'd themſelves to be prevail'd upon by the Hoſtages, and after a three Month Siege, deliver'd up the City to *Narſes*, who accordingly took Poſſeſſion of it in behalf of the Emperor.

Luca *delivered to* Narſes.

By this time *Aligern*, who had call'd in the *Franks* to his Aſſiſtance, conſidering how readily they embrac'd his Cauſe, conceiv'd, upon good Grounds, that what they did was not for his ſake but their own; and that, if they drove *Narſes* out of *Italy*, they would ſecure it for themſelves inſtead of reinſtating the *Goths*; he therefore judg'd

it

it more reasonable to resign it up into the Possession of the first Owners, than suffer it to be enjoy'd by Strangers: Accordingly he went and deliver'd *Narses* the Keys of *Cumæ*, making him Master at once of the Town and the Treasure of the *Goths*. *Narses* receiv'd him very favourably, and entertain'd him in the Emperor's Service, which he readily embrac'd. The *Franks* in the mean while were advanc'd far into the Country, having divided themselves into two Bodies; for *Bucelin*, coasting along the *Tyrrhenian* Shoar, had wasted all *Campania* and *Lucania*, as far as the Straights of *Rhegium*, on the one side, whilst *Leutharis* pierc'd through *Apulia* and *Calabria*, on the other. The *French*, conducted by *Bucelin*, being Christians, abstain'd from the Violation of the Churches, and Things consecrated; whereas *Leutharis*, and the *Germans*, who were for the most part Pagans, committed all manner of Sacrilege; by which Means having exceedingly enrich'd his Army, *Leutharis* was desirous to return homeward: But *Bucelin*, who still flatter'd himself with Hopes of the Crown promis'd him by the *Goths*, and had therefore made an Oath to assist 'em with all the Power against the *Romans*, was resolv'd to pursue his Fortunes. So that *Leutharis* returning by easie Marches, encamp'd with his Forces near *Fano*, a City in the Marshes of *Ancona*, and not far from *Pisaro*, where *Artabanes*, and *Uldac*, an *Hunn* by Nation, were quarter'd with some Troops of *Romans*, who briskly charg'd a Body of *Goths* that were join'd with the *Germans*, and entirely defeated them, which struck such a Terror into *Leutharis* his Soldiers, that they thought of nothing but a Retreat, or rather a Flight, for they left all their Booty and Prisoners, together with the greatest part of their Baggage behind them; and in their Passage through *Lombardy* the Plague rag'd with so much Fury among 'em, that they

and Cumæ

*A Plague in the German Army.*

they almoſt all dy'd of it, *Leutharis* himſelf was ſeiz'd among the reſt, and dy'd in a raving Frenzy, tearing his Fleſh from off his Bones, and ſucking his own Blood, being thus deſervedly puniſh'd by Divine Vengeance for his Sacrilege and Impiety.

In the mean time *Bucelinus* having waſted all the Country as far as *Rhegium*, was returning towards *Rome* through *Campania*, and hearing *Narſes* was marching with the main Strength of his Army againſt him, he encamp'd near *Capua*. He had not as yet heard of the Misfortune arriv'd to his Brother, and being thirty thouſand ſtrong, he thought himſelf able to encounter the *Romans*, and was very earneſt to bring it to a Battle before his Army was diminiſh'd by a Dyſentery, occaſion'd by their eating new Raiſins, which they devour'd with too much Greedineſs and Exceſs. Some *Heruli*, who had deſerted to him from the *Romans*, inform'd him that there was a Miſunderſtanding between *Narſes* and thoſe of their Nation, who were for that Reaſon ready upon the firſt Onſet to declare for him; upon which Encouragement he march'd out of his Entrenchments to attack the *Romans*, who receiv'd him ſo warmly, that, after a long and obſtinate Fight, they were all cut off, with the Loſs of no more than eighty Men on the other Side. As this Action was remarkable for the great Loſs the Barbarians ſuſtain'd, of whom no more than five Men are ſaid to have eſcap'd, ſo was it no leſs memorable for the Courage and Bravery of the *Roman* Officers, among whom *Aligern* the *Goth* did eminent Service.

*The* French *defeated.*

Tho' this Victory ſeem'd to compleat the Reduction of *Italy*, yet there were ſtill remaining ſeven thouſand *Goths*, who, under the Conduct of one *Regnares*, had ſeiz'd upon a Fort near *Capua*, call'd *Caſſin*, ſtrongly ſituated, and environ'd by inacceſſible Mountains, and which they furniſh'd with all

manner of Ammunition and Proviſions for ſeveral Months. *Regnares* was an *Hunn* by Nation, and being a Soldier of Fortune, had animated 'em to this deſperate Courſe, and perſuaded 'em to ſubmit upon no Terms, hoping in the end to make the better Bargain for himſelf. *Narſes*, finding upon Trial the Place was not to be taken by Storm, reſolv'd to block it up, and ſtarve 'em out. And thus the Winter paſs'd over without much Action on either Side, and when the Spring came, *Regnares* demanded a Conference of *Narſes* in behalf of the Beſieg'd, and inſiſted upon ſuch unreaſonable Demands, that the General, who perceiv'd his Ambition, ſent him back with much Indignation; which he took ſo heinouſly, that having gain'd a Hill near the Walls, he let fly an Arrow at *Narſes*, with an Intent to kill him; in which, tho' he fail'd of his Deſign, the General's Guards were ſo provok'd, that they ſent a Shower of Darts after him, wherewith being mortally wounded, he dy'd in the Caſtle two Days after: Whereupon the Beſieg'd yielded upon Promiſe of Pardon, and were ſent by *Narſes* to *Conſtantinople*, to prevent any farther Trouble they might hereafter create in the Country.

Thus was the Kingdom of the *Goths* extinguiſh'd in *Italy*, by the Valour and Conduct of *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, two of the braveſt Generals that ever ſerv'd the Eaſtern Emperors, after they had reign'd there for the Space of ſeventy two Years, or thereabouts; during which, for the moſt part, *Italy* was the Stage whereon the greateſt and moſt bloody Feats of War were acted, in all which *Rome*, the Metropolis, had the largeſt Share. With the Kingdom of the *Goths* fell likewiſe the Hereſie of *Arius* in thoſe Parts, to the great Eaſe and Comfort of the Church, which however was at this time diſtracted by different Intereſts, occaſion'd chiefly by the ſiniſter Practices of *Vigilius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and

and *Theodora* the Empreſs, who during the whole Courſe of her Life appear'd a zealous Aſſerter of the *Eutychian* Hereſie; yet this muſt be allow'd to the Honour and Reputation of the then *Roman* Church, that tho' ſhe was aſſaulted by Hereticks from without, and divided by Diſputes within, ſhe ſtood all thoſe Trials of her Faith with an exemplary Integrity, turning aſide or inclining to no Opinion whatever which was not warranted by the Holy Scriptures, and authoriz'd by the concurring Teſtimonies of Antiquity. In the midſt of all thoſe Storms, in which her very Foundations were almoſt rooted up, her Doctrine continu'd pure and undefiled; and thoſe Errors with which ſhe now abounds, to the great Scandal of Chriſtianity, were the Product of after Ages, whilſt one Part of the World lay bury'd in Ignorance, and the other was kept awake by a reſtleſs Ambition.

A. D. 556. IX. After *Narſes* had thus deliver'd *Italy* from the Arms of the *Goths* and *French*, he took care for the Security of the Borders, and taking the Advantages of a Rebellion rais'd by *Sindualdus*, whom he had created King of the *Heruli*, he drove that Nation out of the Habitations aſſign'd 'em by *Theodorich*, near the *Alps*, after the Death of *Odoacer* their King; hanging their King for an Example of Terror to others, if any were ſtill remaining that aim'd at Innovations. When this was done, he endeavour'd to eſtabliſh Peace and a regular Courſe of Juſtice throughout the Country, which he earneſtly labour'd to reſtore to its former Luſtre and Felicity, repairing the Cities, and beautifying it with new and magnificent Buildings, and other publick Works, and governing it, by Commiſſion from *Juſtinian*, as a Province of the Eaſtern Empire.

The Satisfaction *Juſtinian* took, by putting a happy End to ſo important a War, was ſenſibly abated

abated by the Succeſs of the *Perſians* in *Lazica*, who, about this time, took from the *Romans* the ſtrong Caſtle of *Telepſis*, wherein *Martinus* was Governor for the Emperor. *Mermeroes*, the *Perſian* General, had often attempted to take it by Aſſault, but was ſtill defeated by the Care and Circumſpection of the Garriſon, as well as the natural Strength of the Place; whereupon he had recourſe to a Stratagem; for feigning himſelf ſick, he at length order'd it to be reported abroad that he was dead, to the great Affliction of the Beſiegers, who now deſpair'd of Succeſs. Upon Preſumption of his Death, the *Romans* grew remiſs and careleſs, and ſuffer'd the *Perſians* to gain ſo inſenſibly upon 'em, that it was in *Mermeroes* his Power to maſter the Fort, before they were ſenſible of their Error; whereupon they fairly forſook it, and fled in great Conſternation, with *Mermeroes* at their Heels, to the *Roman* Army, which lay encamp'd not far off, and who were ſo alarm'd at the Accident, that they ran all away in great Confuſion to an Iſland an hundred and fifty Furlongs off, whither *Mermeroes* thought not fit to purſue 'em; but making a Bridge over the *Phaſis*, he return'd for want of Proviſion to the Frontiers, where he dy'd of extream Age ſhortly after, much lamented by *Choſroes* for his Perſonal Valour and Extraordinary Conduct.

*Gubazes*, King of *Lazica*, was much offended at the Behaviour of the *Roman* Officers. *Beſſas* had in a manner ruin'd all by his Covetouſneſs, and *Martinus* had now quitted the *Perſians* a moſt important Fortreſs by his Cowardice. Upon a Complaint to *Juſtinian*, he turn'd *Beſſas* out of Command, but tho' *Martinus* was equally culpable for his Negligence as the other had been for his Covetouſneſs, the Emperor, by an impardonable Overſight, continu'd him in his Employment,

to

to the utter Deſtruction of *Gubazes*, and great Detriment to the Affairs of the Empire; ſo careful ought Princes to be in examining into the Miſcarriages of their Miniſters, and puniſhing the Offenders, eſpecially upon any Complaint on reaſonable Grounds preferr'd againſt them. *Martinus*, who was before but ill affected to *Gubazes*, grew now his implacable Enemy, joining himſelf with *Ruſticus*, a Quæſtor in the Army, who having behav'd himſelf with much Corruption in his Office, was as earneſt to have him remov'd out of the way as *Martinus*. They ſent *John*, the Brother of *Ruſticus*, to *Conſtantinople*, where he accus'd him of Treachery, and private Correſpondence with the *Perſians*, and obtain'd an Order from the Emperor, the Senſe of which they ſo wreſted, as at leaſt to make it excuſe and challenge a Connivance at what ever they ſhould practiſe againſt him; tho' *Juſtinian* deſign'd nothing leſs in his Inſtructions to 'em, provided he continu'd firm in his Alliance and Engagements with the *Romans*, for he knew the Enmity that was between them, and therefore gave little Credit to the Accuſation. Upon the Authority of theſe Orders they requir'd him to join with them in ſome Service againſt the *Perſians*, which, tho' he was ready to enter upon, he firſt expoſtulated with them. For having, by their late Cowardice and Negligence, made that Service neceſſary; this they would have interpreted as a Demonſtration of his Revolt to the Enemy, and immediately murder'd him, and thereby endanger'd the Loſs of the whole Country; for on the one Hand the *Lazians* were ſo highly offended at this Barbarity, that they were about to throw themſelves into the Hands of the *Perſians*; and on the other, ſo great a Miſunderſtanding aroſe between the *Regicides* and the reſt of the Officers that had been Strangers to their pernicious Councils,

cils, and abominated that moſt execrable Act, that the whole Army had like to have been deſtroy'd. At length a Commiſſion was ſent from *Conſtantinople* to Try the Offenders, who, upon a fair Hearing, were ſentenc'd to be beheaded, which Sentence was executed upon 'em accordingly; and *Gubazes* his Brother being by the Emperor's Conſent appointed his Succeſſor, the Minds of the People were in a great meaſure appeas'd, and the Army once more in a Condition to make Head againſt the *Perſians*, who, to the Number of ſixty thouſand Men, under the Command of *Nachoragan*, *Mermeroe*'s Succeſſor, threaten'd no leſs than an entire Conqueſt. But this new General, after the loſs of twelve thouſand of his Soldiers, fled away, and gave ſo ill an Account of his Conduct at Court, that he was flay'd alive, at his Return, by the Command of *Choſroes*; who finding, by fatal Experience, how little he was like to get by the War, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* with Propoſals for a Peace, where, after ſome Diſputes and Alterations, a Ceſſation was in the end concluded, 'till a more ſolemn Peace could be confirm'd between the Princes, equally weary'd with the Cares and Viciſſitudes of War.

*A Truce with Perſia.*

A. D. 557.

The Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* had hardly finiſh'd their Publick Feſtivals for this Agreement, and the Concluſion of the War in *Italy*, before the City was viſited by a moſt terrible Earthquake, which, beginning in the dead of Night, alarm'd the whole World at one Inſtant, the Horrors of Darkneſs adding to the Terrors of the Calamity. At firſt moſt diſmal Groans were heard from beneath, after which iſſu'd ſuch violent Winds and Hurricanes as exceeded all Belief; it continu'd for ſeveral Days together, during which moſt of the publick Buildings were ſwallow'd up, and a great Number of Churches, together with People of all

*A great Earthquake.*

Conditions, who in that publick Confuſion crowded into 'em. The like Calamity was felt at *Rome* about the ſame time, where the Inhabitants ſuffer'd more from the Fury of the Earthquake, than from the Inſolence of their moſt inveterate and victorious Enemies. And, as if one Puniſhment was order'd by Providence to follow cloſe upon another, the Plague return'd again to *Conſtantinople*, and ſwept off an infinite Multitude. The Plague was no ſooner remov'd, before an Invaſion of the *Hunns* threaten'd the City with greater Calamities than it had ſuffer'd in either of the former Viſitations.

*Juſtinian*, being now grown Old, and impatient of Noiſe and Action, had taken a new Method to prevent the Incurſions of the barbarous Nations, and eaſe himſelf of an expenſive Burden, which he had hitherto born through the whole Courſe of his Reign. According to an old Maxim in *Tacitus*, by his Emiſſaries, which he employ'd for that Purpoſe, he ſet the Barbarians one Nation againſt another, and ſow'd Jealouſies and Diſſentions among 'em; by which means he found ſo much Employment for 'em at home, that they had neither Time nor Opportunity to moleſt him. Theſe ſubtle Meaſures he thought would prove ſo effectual, that he concluded for the future he ſhould have but little Employment for Military Men, great Numbers of whom had before this been diſmiſs'd, and the Fortifications upon the Frontiers lay neglected; nor was any Care taken to recruit the Legions, which lay diſpers'd throughout the Empire; hereupon the ſeveral Armies of the State grew in time to be ſo diminiſh'd, that whereas, by the Hiſtorian's Computation, the ſtanding Forces of the ancient Emperors conſiſted uſually of ſix hundred forty five thouſand Men, they now hardly amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand, ſome of which lay in *Italy*, others in *Egypt*, and

and the rest were dispers'd through *Africk*, *Spain*, and *Lazica*. These Considerations, and the Advantage of the Frost, which facilitated their Passage over the *Ister*, encourag'd the *Hunns* to Invade the Empire; accordingly they march'd in two Bodies directly for *Constantinople*, cruelly wasting the Country as they pass'd, and sparing neither Sex, Age, or Condition. The Forts that had been built formerly for the Defence of the Royal City, lay now naked and defenceless, the Mony that was originally assign'd to maintain 'em being squander'd away upon Women, Chariot-Drivers, and other Extravagances, so that the *Hunns* approach'd, without the least Opposition, within an hundred and fifty Furlongs of the City, where an universal Consternation had seiz'd the Inhabitants. In this Extremity, *Belisarius*, grown old in Years and Honours, almost unable to hold a Shield, or brandish a Sword, was sent against 'em. His whole Army consisted of three hundred old Soldiers that had serv'd under him in the late Wars, and had hitherto follow'd his Fortunes; the rest were a rude undisciplin'd Multitude, without Skill or Courage, bred up in the Imperial Guards, where he who had the most Gold was enroll'd a Soldier, and not such who for their former Services in the Field deserv'd to be preferr'd to those Honourable Employments. In his March he was join'd by such Peasants who had been driven from their Habitations by the *Hunns*, and who were ready, by their Terror and Amazement, to weaken and dispirit rather than strengthen the Party they had embrac'd; notwithstanding which, he march'd forward, and encamp'd as near as conveniently he might to the Enemy. He planted two hundred of his Men in a Wood, with Orders, at a Signal given, to fall upon two thousand of the *Hunns*, who he heard were marching against him. This

*The Hunns Invade the Empire.*

done, he commanded the Peaſants to make as great a Noiſe, and raiſe as much Duſt as they could, whilſt he with the reſt fell upon the Enemy, who, imagining the *Romans* to be more in Number than they were, began to turn back, when they from the Wood fell upon their Rear, and behav'd themſelves with ſo much Courage, that the *Hunns* were glad to fly to their Camp, after they had loſt near five hundred of their Men. By theſe Stratagems of *Beliſarius* they were ſo much weaken'd, that they offer'd to return home if the Emperor would Ranſom the Priſoners they had taken, threatning otherwiſe to cut their Throats before they ſtirr'd. The Conditions were readily accepted by *Juſtinian*, tho', had *Beliſarius* purſu'd his good Fortune, and fallen upon 'em whilſt they were generally ſeiz'd with a Panick Fear, 'tis very likely they had been all cut off; but he was recall'd on a ſudden, at the Inſtigation of ſome who envy'd him the Honour of this laſt good Service to his Country; the great Favour he was in with the People, who admir'd his Conduct and Valour, and compar'd him with the moſt renown'd Heroes of Antiquity, made his Enemies repreſent him as a Perſon dangerous to the Emperor, whoſe Jealouſies encreas'd with his Years, and taught him to be barbarouſly ungrateful to the moſt deſerving of all his Servants, one who had been the Support of the Empire, and Reſtorer of her ancient Military Glory. Shortly after this, *Ablavius*, *Marcellus*, and *Sergius*, Men of great Wealth and Intereſt in the Empire, conſpir'd againſt *Juſtinian*, and had agreed to kill him by Night in his Chamber; whether urg'd to it by his Ingratitude to *Beliſarius*, or upon ſome other Provocations occaſion'd by the Infirmities of Age, is uncertain. The thing was diſcover'd by ſome whom *Ablavius* had acquainted with their Conſpiracy, and invited 'em to be Aſſociates in it; whereupon

*Beliſarius envy'd at Court.*

*A Conſpiracy againſt the Emperor diſcover'd.*

upon they were all ſeiz'd with their Swords about 'em, but *Marcellus*, before he could be perſuaded to ſurrender his to the Officer, who had the Charge of him, drew it out and ſtabb'd himſelf. When they were brought ſeverally to Examination, *Sergius* accus'd *Beliſarius* as privy to the Deſign; for which Reaſon the Emperor, to whom his great Virtues and Deſerts had already render'd him obnoxious, immediately depriv'd him of all his Employments, confiſcated his Eſtate, and threw him into Priſon; tho' he was releas'd the Year following, and upon a Re-examination of his Caſe, reſtor'd to all his Employments, which he enjoy'd, without any further Diſgrace, 'till his Death. Such is the Account we have of the latter End of this Great Man, which we have drawn from the moſt Authentick Writers of that Age, and which ſeems more agreeable to Truth, than what has ſince been impos'd upon the World by the Partizans of the Papacy, who tell us *Juſtinian* did not only ſtrip him of all he had, but pluck'd out his Eyes, and reduc'd him to ſuch extream Poverty, that he was forc'd to beg his Bread from Door to Door through the Streets of *Conſtantinople*; and that God had inflicted this juſt Puniſhment upon him for his unjuſt and violent Proceedings againſt *Sylverius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, in Complaiſance to *Theodora* the Empreſs. Whether the one Account or the other be true, he is ſet before us as an Example of all Human Honour and Greatneſs, and may teach us to purſue ſomething more ſubſtantial and immutable.

Tho' *Juſtinian* was continually at War in one Part of the World or another, during the greateſt part of his Reign, yet he manag'd that by his Lieutenants abroad, whilſt he buſied himſelf at home in Religious Diſputes, and Buildings, as well of whole Cities and capacious Caſtles, as of Churches and Hoſpitals. His Buildings, which

*Juſtinian much addicted to Building.*

were almoſt without Number, were great and magnificent; and tho' they were vaſtly expenſive, and burdenſome to the Subject, yet they ſeem'd the Product of a Spirit highly Noble. The Church of *Sophia* in *Conſtantinople* has been the Wonder of all ſucceeding Generations, ſaid by ſome to have excell'd the celebrated Temple of *Solomon*; beſides which he rais'd ſo many more throughout the Empire ſo ſtately and beautiful, that *Procopius* ſaith, a juſt Survey of any one of 'em would make the Spectator imagine he had employ'd his whole Time and Care in that ſingle Building, and yet as there was hardly a City in his Dominions in which he did not erect a Church, ſo was there ſcarce a Province throughout the Empire wherein he did not build or repair ſome City, Fort or Caſtle; ſo that he is reported to have reſtor'd no fewer than an hundred and fifty Cities, which he found entirely ruin'd or very much decay'd, embelliſhing 'em with beautiful Houſes, as well private as publick, ſecuring 'em with ſubſtantial Walls, and adorning 'em with Churches lofty and capacious.

As from the Beginning of his Reign he had us'd himſelf to the Converſation of the moſt Learned Prelates of his Time, ſitting up late every Night, and diſcourſing with them in his Cloſet upon ſome controverted Points of Chriſtian Religion; ſo towards the latter End of it, when the Infirmities of Age had weaken'd his Reaſon, and impair'd his Judgment, he fell into ſome dangerous Errors, which occaſion'd great Troubles in the Church. We obſerv'd before, that there were ſome in *Alexandria* who maintain'd, that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt was Incorruptible, that is, that it was not ſubject to the Natural Neceſſities and Infirmities of other Men; from whence ſprung inſenſibly the Error of the *Eutychians*, who held, that there was but one Nature in him. This Opinion *Juſtinian* was

*He embraces ſome Heretical Opinions.*

was perſuaded to eſpouſe by the Artifices of *Theodorus*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, who being an *Eutychian* in his Heart, had a great Influence over the Emperor, and at length impos'd ſo far upon his Credulity, that he openly profeſs'd his Belief was, that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt had never been ſubject either to Hunger or Thirſt, to Pain, Death, or any other Inconveniences naturally incident to the reſt of Mankind; that he was nouriſh'd in the ſame manner before his Paſſion as he was after his Reſurrection, which effected no Change upon his Body, but that it retain'd the ſame Qualities it receiv'd at his Conception. He was not content himſelf to maintain this abſurd and impious Hereſie, but by an Edict publiſh'd to that Purpoſe, would oblige all the Biſhops of the Eaſt to ſubſcribe to it, and teach it in their ſeveral Churches. They at firſt excus'd themſelves, by alledging they could do nothing in it, without the Advice and Approbation of *Anaſtaſius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, firſt obtain'd to that Purpoſe. *Anaſtaſius* was a Prelate renown'd for his great Learning, Orthodox Doctrine, and moſt exemplary Life; ſo that when the Emperor made uſe of all his Artifices to gain him to his Party, the good Biſhop anſwer'd him with ſo much Preſence of Mind and Solidity of Judgment, that *Juſtinian* deſpairing to obtain his Wiſhes that way, had recourſe to Violence, and declar'd all thoſe Biſhops depriv'd who refus'd to ſubmit to the Imperial Edict. *Anaſtaſius*, fearing leſt ſome of 'em might be terrify'd by the Emperor into a ſhameful Submiſſion, ſent his Circular Letters throughout his Dioceſs, in which he earneſtly exhorted the Clergy, and the Flock committed to their Care, to continue ſtedfaſt in the Truth and Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith. *Juſtinian*, who grew more obſtinate when he ſaw the Oppoſition that was made againſt him, and was reſolv'd to make all the A. D. 563.

Biſhops in his Dominions ſwallow down his Hereſie, began firſt with *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, thinking that if he could once prevail with him, others would more eaſily be brought to follow his Example; but *Eutychius*, inſtead of complying with the Emperor's Pleaſure, writ againſt the Opinions he would have him embrace, proving by the Authority of Scripture and the Fathers that they were Heretical: At which *Juſtinian* was ſo much provok'd, that he depriv'd him of his Epiſcopal Function, and confin'd him to a Monaſtery in *Chalcedon*; where, in a Synod conſiſting of ſuch Biſhops as had obey'd the Edict, and ſubſcrib'd to the Hereſie, ſeveral frivolous and ridiculous Accuſations were preferr'd againſt him; whereupon thoſe worthy Prelates depos'd him from his Biſhoprick, and *John*, who reſided then at *Conſtantinople* as Agent for the Church of *Antioch*, and who had ſold himſelf up to follow the Emperor's Pleaſure, was eſtabliſh'd in his Place. The Patriarch being thus depos'd, excommunicated all thoſe Biſhops that had ſubſcrib'd his Depoſition, which ſerv'd only to exaſperate them the more againſt him; for being ſupported by the Imperial Authority, they firſt confin'd him to a barren Iſland, after which they remov'd him to *Apamena*, a Town in *Syria*, where they ſhut him up into a Monaſtery of his own Founding. All this he bore with a pious Reſignation, and by his Chriſtian Example fortify'd the reſt of the Biſhops againſt whatever the Emperor deſign'd againſt 'em, continuing in this Reſtraint 'till the Death of the Uſurper, which happen'd twelve Years after, in the Reign of *Juſtin*, at which time he was reſtor'd by that Emperor, at the general and importunate Requeſt of the People. *Juſtinian*, at the Inſtigation of *Theodorus*, was proceeding with equal Violence againſt the reſt of the Biſhops, eſpecially *Anaſtaſius*, Patri-

*Which creates grat Troubles in the Church*

Patriarch of *Antioch*, when thoſe and all his other Deſigns were interrupted by Death, which took him ſuddenly away, to the great Benefit of the Church, who, 'till the Evening of his Reign, had been an Ornament and Support to it, after he had Reign'd thirty eight Years and ſeven Months. Juſtinian Dies.

It's no wonder, if during ſo long an Adminiſtration of Affairs, and a Reign ſo active, this Emperor has expos'd himſelf, in ſome Particulars, to the Reprehenſion of thoſe, who often enquire into the Faults of other Men with more Malice than Integrity. He had been more than Man if he had not made ſome Trips in ſo long a Race, and when there were ſo many Snares and Impediments that lay full in his way; and yet the greateſt Faults that upon any colour of Reaſon can be urg'd againſt him, ſeem rather the Effects of Human Infirmity than Perverſeneſs of Will. His uxorious Temper gave his Wife *Theodora* a great Aſcendant over him, who being her ſelf a devoted *Eutychian*, made uſe of her Intereſt and Authority in him to the Support of that Hereſie, whereby the Church receiv'd no ſmall Damage, and which created him ſome Enemies, who perhaps would otherwiſe have been more tender to his Memory. His intereſting himſelf ſo zealouſly in the Factions of the *Circus*, was a Fault not eaſily to be excus'd, any more than his frequent and ſevere Exactions; tho' the Money rais'd by 'em was neither hoarded up, nor apply'd to the Gratification of any unlawful Pleaſures, but employ'd in the Payment of his numerous Forces, and in publick Buildings; ſo that in a manner it may be ſaid to return back to the Publick, like Fountains whoſe continu'd Streams haſten back to the Sea, from whence they had their Original. In all his Exactions, with which he is ſo heavily charg'd, he took care to abſtain from Sacrilege; as appears in his Behaviour to *Juliana*, his near Relation, His Character.

tion, a Widow, very old, and extreamly rich: For being at a great Expence in his Preparations againſt the *Perſians*, he deſir'd her to lend him a good Sum of Money to aſſiſt him towards carrying on the War: She, upon juſt Grounds, thinking the Emperor intanded never to pay what he now pretended only to borrow, anſwer'd, *That it requir'd ſome time to raiſe ſo conſiderable a Sum*, and promis'd upon a certain Day *to give him Satisfaction.* In the mean time ſhe deliver'd all the Gold and Silver ſhe had, either in Money or Plate, to an Artiſt, with Orders to form it into Utenſils for a Church dedicated to one of the Martyrs in *Conſtantinople*, and when it was finiſh'd, ſhe carry'd *Juſtinian* to ſee it, telling him, *She had apply'd all her Wealth to that Uſe, and if he thought fit, 'twas now at his Service.* Tho' the Emperor knew this had been done on purpoſe to diſappoint him, yet he never touch'd it, but ſeem'd ſo well pleas'd with the Lady's generous Devotion, that at his Departure ſhe gave him an Emerauld, for its Value worthy to be preſented to an Emperor. They who call him Unlearn'd, have the leaſt Grounds of any for the Calumny, as appears from his conſtant Converſation with the moſt Learned Men in his Dominions, and a Book own'd by thoſe who had no great Kindneſs for him, to be written by him in Defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and his Epiſtle to *Vigilius*, Pope of *Rome*. Tho' perhaps he was not ſo great a Proficient in Learning as thoſe who made it their Buſineſs, yet he was a great Lover of Learned Men, and govern'd his Subjects with Juſtice, and a truly pious Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion. At leaſt, one Part of the Learned World are highly obliged to him for the *Code* which goes under his Name, and which he order'd to be Publiſh'd on the ſixteenth of *April* in the ſecond Year of his Reign, in which he not only abridg'd the Law, which through a long Succeſſi-

on

on of Ages was grown too bulky and voluminous, and in many Reſpects obſolete and uſeleſs, but chang'd the very Tenor and Genius of it. This *Code*, in the compiling of which he employ'd the greateſt Lawyers in the Empire, was compos'd out of the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenia*, and *Theodoſian*, in retrenching what was thought ſuperfluous, and omitting all that was uſeleſs and impertinent. The Year following he commanded the ſame Men to collect all the Laws and Ordinances of Uſe, which lay diffus'd in the innumerable Writings of the moſt celebrated Lawyers for twelve hundred Years before, and to reduce 'em to a certain Order, and under ſuch Titles, as Recourſe might readily be had to 'em upon all Occaſions. This they induſtriouſly undertook, and in three Years time they Publiſh'd no leſs than fifty Books, which, becauſe they comprehended every thing relating to the Law, were call'd the *Pandects*. After theſe follow'd his *Inſtitutes*, ſo uſeful for the Inſtruction of thoſe who apply themſelves to the Study of the Civil Law. At laſt, finding that all theſe Laws thus collected and digeſted could not afford proper Remedies for new Matters which aroſe every Day, he added ſome new Conſtitutions, which, from the Deſign of 'em, were call'd *Novellæ*. Of how much Uſe theſe Collections have ſince been to the World, may eaſily be determin'd, ſince *Juſtinian*'s Law, as it's now call'd, continues to be that in general of the greateſt Part of Chriſtendom, who look on it as the moſt exact Form of that Nature. And as in this Particular he has deſerv'd well of Poſterity, ſo did he deſerve no leſs from that State he govern'd, and the Age wherein he liv'd, for his Wiſdom and Succeſs, by which he recover'd to the Empire *Africk* from the *Vandals*, and *Italy* from the *Goths*. In a Word, he may be ſaid to have been the laſt Prince that ſhone with the genuine Luſtre of the ancient

*Roman*

*Roman* Majeſty, which reviv'd a while in him, and flouriſh'd in the Variety of Affairs relating both to Peace and War, conducting great Armies, deſigning mighty Performances, and converſant in variety of Accidents. But as if it had been rais'd by ſome Charm, which forc'd it to act for a ſhort time contrary to the Law of Nature, it diſappear'd again on a ſudden, and vaniſh'd into nothing: For we are now upon a mighty Precipice, to be hurry'd down from thence into low, obſcure and narrow Tracts, and the farther we paſs we ſhall meet with little of Action, and leſs of Performance; ſo that the Subſtance of the remaining Part of this Hiſtory will be a Subject fitter for our Contemplation than Curioſity.

## CHAP. III.

### *From the Death of* Juſtinian *the Great, to the Uſurpation of* Phoças *the Tyrant.*

*Containing the Space of Thirty Eight Years.*

JUSTIN II. A. D. 566.

*Juſtinian* had in his Life-time deſign'd *Juſtin*, his Siſter's Son, for his Succeſſor, by the Conſent as well of the Senate as People: His Uncle dying about Midnight, *Callinicus*, the Chamberlain, raiſing him out of his Bed, advertis'd him of his Death, and advis'd him to put in his Claim to the Senate, at that time aſſembled in the Palace; the Fathers readily accepted him for their Prince, and accordingly deſir'd him to take the Government upon him. His Predeceſſor being Interr'd with much Pomp and Solemnity, he order'd himſelf to be Crown'd by the Hands of *John* the Patriarch, with an equal Magnificence. His firſt Care

Care was by ſome Act of Favour to ingratiate himſelf with the People, who made great Complaints of the Debts owing 'em by his Uncle, which he immediately gave Order ſhould be paid out of the Publick Treaſury; after which he appeas'd the Factions of the *Circus*, which had given Birth to ſo many Diſorders, as had been obſerv'd before. The People were in general diſpleas'd with *Juſtinian* for aboliſhing the Office of Conſul, thereby taking from 'em the Power of chuſing their own Magiſtrates, the only Mark they had left of their ancient Liberty; *Juſtin* therefore promis'd to reſtore that Office, and accordingly took that Title upon him the firſt of *January*, and gave the People ſuch a Donative as was uſual upon that Solemnity; notwithſtanding which, this Office was again laid aſide, almoſt as ſoon as reviv'd. Seeiug ſome new Troubles had crept into the Church towards the latter End of *Juſtinian's* Reign, he endeavour'd to recompoſe it by an Edict publiſh'd to that Purpoſe, wherein he exhorted every one to embrace and perſevere in the Purity of Faith. At the ſame time he ſent *Photinus*, *Beliſarius* his Son-in-Law, to *Alexandria*, to appeaſe ſome Differences which troubled the Repoſe of the Church there.

Such was the Beginniug of *Juſtin's* Adminiſtration, in which he gave the World a Promiſe of a vigilant and virtuous Prince; but he quickly grew weary of doing well, and gave himſelf up to the Power of Luſt, and the Satisfaction of his brutiſh Appetite, raiſing great Sums of Money by unlawful Means, and ſquandering it away again upon profligate Pleaſures. All the Offices in the Empire were ſet to ſale, and the very Preferments of the Church ſold to the moſt unworthy and vileſt ſort of People, who had Wealth enough to purchaſe 'em, thereby impiouſly affronting that God which at firſt he pretended ſo much to honour.

Not long after his Entrance upon the Conſulſhip, *Chagan*, King of the *Avari*, or *Aſiatick Scythians*, ſent his Ambaſſadors to demand the Tribute, or Penſion, *Juſtinian* had formerly paid 'em, to purchaſe the Quiet of his Provinces, and prevent their Irruptions into the Territories of the Empire. *Juſtin* gave em a peremptory Refuſal, and threaten'd *to chaſtiſe their Inſolence, if they preſum'd to offer any Violence to his Subjects, or attempt any thing prejudicial to his Service.* This reſolute Anſwer proceeded from ſome Negotiation which was then on Foot between him and the *Turks*, call'd heretofore the *Maſſagetes*, a People inhabiting thoſe Parts that border upon the *Tanais*, towards the Eaſt, who began then to be known by that Name to the World, and by their Ambaſſadors had made him ſeveral rich Preſents, deſiring him not to enter into an Alliance with the *Avari*, their declar'd Enemies. As *Juſtin* by his Courage and Confidence highly obliged the People, who abominated the Name of Tribute; ſo the Year following he diſguſted all ſober judicious Perſons by his bloody Actions. Being entangled with two contrary Vices, Cruelty and Cowardice, he gave the World ſeveral Inſtances both of the one and the other. He had a near Kinſman call'd *Juſtin*, in great Honour and Eſteem with the People, who then reſided near the *Danube*, to reſtrain the Incurſions of the Barbarians. Being equal in Birth and Expectation, they had formerly Covenanted with each other, that which ſo ever of the two ſhould be in time advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, ſhould treat the other as the Firſt and moſt Honourable Perſon, after himſelf, in the Empire. But *Juſtin*, who had now obtain'd the Purple, grew fearful and jealous of his Couſin's Virtues; ſo that inſtead of being juſt to the Promiſe he had formerly made him, he reſolv'd to deſtroy him: in order

*Juſtin turns Cruel.*

order to which, he invited him, with Letters full of Friendſhip, to come to *Conſtantinople*, where he receiv'd him with open Hands, but a treacherous, deceitful Heart. He had not been long in Court before the Emperor forg'd ſeveral pretended Crimes againſt him, as if he had entertain'd Councils dangerous to the State, and the Dignity of his Perſon; tho' the People, who had a thorough ſenſe of *Juſtin*'s Merit, and the great Service he had done his Country, were very well ſatisfy'd of his Innocence, yet the Emperor took from him his Guard, confin'd him to his Houſe, and at length order'd him to be convey'd away to *Alexandria*, where one Night he was cruelly murder'd as he lay aſleep in his Bed, and the Emperor's jealous Fears for the preſent were remov'd; tho' neither his, nor his Wife *Sophia*'s barbarous Curioſity could be ſatisfyd till they had beheld his Head, and in a ſcornful inſulting manner, ſpurn'd it with their Feet upon the Ground. This *Sophia* was Neece to *Theodora* the late Empreſs, as Haughty, Inſolent and Imperious as her Aunt, but a Woman more capable of managing Publick Affairs, and better affected to the State, as we ſhall have occaſion to remember in its proper Place.

Not long after this the Emperor did a piece of Juſtice upon the Perſons of *Ætherius* and *Addæus*, two Senators of great Authority in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, and who were now accus'd of High-Treaſon. *Ætherius* confeſs'd he had a Deſign to poiſon the Emperor, and that *Addæus* was privy to it. *Addæus*, with ſolemn Oaths, and moſt dreadful Imprecations, proteſted himſelf altogether innocent, but confeſs'd at his Execution, *That tho' he was guiltleſs of the Crime for which he ſuffer'd, yet his Puniſhment was the Effect of God's juſt Judgment upon him for his wicked Practices againſt* Theodorus, *Præfect of the Palace, who loſt*

*his*

*his Life by his Inchantments.* The People were not more offended at his Cruelty towards *Juſtinus*, than pleas'd with his Proceedings againſt theſe two Perſons; for whether they were guilty of the Crime with which they were charg'd or no, they were undoubtedly very wicked Perſons; for *Addæus* was addicted to unnatural Pleaſure, and *Ætherius*, in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, had robb'd both the Innocent and Guilty, the Living and the Dead, by his Calumnies and malicious Informations.

A. D. 568. This Act was follow'd by another the next Year, no leſs agreeable to the People, and beneficial to the State. The Emperor was ſubject to a Vertigo, or Dizzineſs in his Head, which hinder'd him from appearing often in Publick, or giving Audience to the People; and when he did, they flock'd to him with Petitions, and Complaints againſt many of the Senators and Great Perſons in the Court, who grievouſly burden'd and oppreſs'd 'em. The Emperor, obſerving that after ſeveral Redreſſes of that kind, the People ſtill complain'd of their hard Uſage, ſeverely reproach'd the Senate for countenancing ſuch Tyrannical Practices; threatning, unleſs they reſtor'd to every Man his own, he would ſee 'em puniſh'd without any regard had to their Quality, or Relation to his Perſon. When all this prov'd ineffectual, one of the Senators undertook, at the hazard of his Life, to prevent the like Violence for the future, provided the Emperor would make him Præfect of the City, and ſupport him with his Authority. *Juſtin* readily accepted of his Terms, and eſtabliſh'd him in the Office. It happen'd one Day, whilſt the new Præfect was hearing Cauſes upon the Bench, a poor Woman came to complain of one of the Principal Magiſtrates, who had robb'd her of all ſhe was worth; whereupon the Præfect ſent her with a Warrant to the Offender, requiring him to appear, and make

make his Defence in Court; but he, inſtead of obeying the Order, ſent her back, after he had moſt outragiouſly abus'd her. After which the Præfect ſent one of his Officers with a Citation, which, in Defiance to the Præfect, he diſdainfully refus'd to obey, and went to wait upon *Juſtin*, who had invited him to Dinner. The Præfect follow'd him immediately to the Palace, and requir'd the Emperor to deliver him up into his Hands, reminding him of the Promiſe he had given, of ſupporting him with his Authority in the Execution of his Office; which, when the Emperor had done, he condemn'd the Magiſtrate to be Shav'd, and having order'd him to be Whipp'd, he commanded him to be ſet naked upon an Aſs, and to be conducted through the publick Streets of the City; after which he confiſcated all his Eſtate, and adjudg'd it to the Woman he had injured. This ſeaſonable Example of Severity upon the Perſon of ſo eminent a Magiſtrate, kept all the reſt in awe, ſo that no more Complaints were brought to the Emperor, who made the Præfect a Patrician, and gave him the Office for his Life. About the ſame time *Sophia* perſwaded her Husband to pay the Debts of ſuch poor Priſoners as were inſolvent, out of the publick Treaſury, to the great Eaſe and Satisfaction of the People.

*A popular Act of the Empreſs.*

This Year was not only remarkable for theſe civil Tranſactions at home, but for new Commotions of the Barbarians abroad, that at firſt fill'd the World with Terror and Amazement, and at length produc'd a fatal Revolution in the Weſt; for the *Lombards* were now preparing for an Expedition into *Italy*: And ſince, in Proceſs of Time, they grew ſo conſiderable in that Country, Part of which retains their Name to this Day, 'tis hop'd an Account of their Original will not be judg'd improper in this Place.

*The Original of the* Lombards

Their first Habitation is by the concurrent Agreement of most Writers allow'd to be *Scanzia*, or *Scandinavia*, a large *Peninsula* in the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and that as the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Gepidæ* were the same in their Original, tho' distinguish'd, upon several Occasions, by different Names, so it is most certain, that these *Lombards* were descended from the *Gepidæ*, who were so call'd, because when the *Goths* made an Expedition out of *Scanzia* in three Ships, they sail'd slower than the rest, and settled, for the present, in an Island upon the *Vistula*, which, when their Multitudes increas'd, was too little to contain and nourish 'em all; whereupon a third Part, call'd afterwards *Lombards*, was by Lot compell'd to leave their Native Country, and seek out new Habitations. After several Adventures and Changes of Fortune, they settled in *Rugia*, where they continu'd for some time under the Government of *Lamissio*, and his Successors, till at length *Godoboc* the Third, according to some, but as others will have it, *Audoin*, the ninth King in Order from *Lamissio*, led 'em into *Pannonia*, where their Name first began to be known to the World, and where they grew conspicuous for their many Victories obtain'd over their Neighbours, and Alliances with Foreign Princes; for *Alboin*, who succeeded his Father *Audoin* in the Government, was thought considerable enough to marry the Daughter of *Clotaire*, King of the *Franks*. He was a very warlike and prudent Prince, not only well skill'd in the Arts of Government, but happy in the Invention of such Weapons, as from his Time were much us'd in the Wars. Having conquer'd the *Gepidæ*, whose King, *Cunimundus*, he slew in the Battle, the Emperor *Justinian* thought fit to enter into Alliance with him. Accordingly he assisted *Narses* in his Wars against the *Goths*, and, whilst that Great Man

Man continu'd in Favour at Court, they were ready to ſerve the *Romans* upon all Occaſions. *Narſes* had for thirteen Years together govern'd *Italy*, as the Emperor's Lieutenant, with much Reputation, in which time it was improv'd beyond Imagination; the late Peace, which upon the final Conqueſt of the *Goths*, was firmly eſtabliſh'd, made room for a juſt and regular Execution of the Laws, and that gave Encouragement to Trade and Commerce, by which the Inhabitants grew exceedingly enrich'd; the Towns were opulent, and the Country fruitful, ſo that there was nothing wanting to make 'em compleatly happy, but a juſt and grateful Senſe of their Happineſs; inſtead of which the Common People grew Wanton and Luxurious, the Great ones Proud and Ungrateful. Tho' there was nothing they had juſt Reaſon to envy in others, which they had not abundantly in themſelves, they look'd with a malicious Eye upon the Wealth and Authority of *Narſes*, of whom they complain'd to the Emperor, as of a Tyrant, who, by his Arbitrary Proceedings, made 'em wiſh the Dominion of the *Goths* reſtor'd among 'em; ſo much happier were they under them, than under the Government of that Eunuch, who tyranniz'd over them with an unbounded Pride, whilſt their moſt virtuous and pious Prince was kept in Ignorance of their Sufferings. For this Reaſon the Emperor recall'd him out of *Italy*, ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, and appointed *Longinus*, a Patrician, to ſucceed him in the Government of the Weſt. *Narſes*, who well knew what powerful Enemies he had at Court, reſolv'd not to venture himſelf at *Conſtantinople*, but retir'd from *Rome* to *Naples*, as a Place of greater Security, where he was very much belov'd and eſteem'd. Here he ſeriouſly conſulted with his Friends about his own Safety, eſpecially when he was inform'd that the

Narſes *recall'd out of* Italy.

Empreſs, by way of Deriſion, threaten'd *to ſend for that Eunuch home, and ſet him a Spinning among her Women.* Inrag'd at this inſolent Reflection, he reply'd, *He was ready to undergo any Puniſhment he had juſtly deſerv'd, but would not put it in the Power of his Enemies to uſe him ill, after he had ſo eminently ſignaliz'd himſelf in his Services to the Empire*; concluding, *That he would have the Empreſs know, he was going to Spin her ſuch a Thread, as neither She, nor any of her Minions, ſhould be able to unravel whilſt ſhe liv'd*: And ſo, mov'd both by Fear and Diſdain, he ſent immediately and invited the *Lombards* into *Italy*, promiſing *Alboin*, with whom he was well acquainted, to open him a Paſſage into the Country. With theſe Meſſengers he ſent ſeveral Preſents to *Alboin* and his chief Favourites, amongſt the reſt ſome of the beſt Fruits the Country afforted, as Baits to allure 'em. *Baronius*, and ſeveral others of his Followers, reject this Account as fabulous, alledging that *Narſes* had been recall'd the Year before by *Juſtin*, at whoſe Inauguration he aſſiſted, and continu'd in great Credit at *Conſtantinople*; and this they aſſert upon the Authority of *Chorippus*, a Poet and Grammarian of *Africk*, who flouriſh'd in that Age, and was then living in the Imperial City. This Objection Father *Petau*, the Jeſuit, has very learnedly remov'd, proving that what *Chorippus* ſpoke, was of another *Narſes*, much younger than this General, and that there were three of that Name living at that time; the firſt was the renown'd Deliverer of *Italy*, who dy'd, and was bury'd at *Rome*, ſome time after he had call'd in the *Lombards*; the ſecond was the Brother of *Aratius*; and the third, that *Narſes*, of whom *Chorippus* makes mention in his Poem, who was young, and handſome to a Miracle, who bore Arms for the Emperor *Juſtin*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and

*Invites the* Lombards *into it.*

and who was burnt alive by the Command of *Phocas*, in the Year 605.

Whatever the Inducements were, the *Lombards* made all neceſſary Preparations for their intended Invaſion, calling the *Saxons* in to their Aſſiſtance, whom they promis'd a ſhare in the Conqueſt; who, upon theſe Conditions, join'd with them to the Number of above twenty thouſand Men, together with their Wives and Children. *Alboin*, before his Expedition, enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance with the *Hunns*, the moſt powerful of his Neighbours, to whom he left *Pannonia*, with this Reſerve, That if the *Lombards* ſhould be forc'd back, they ſhould haae free Liberty to re-enter upon their former Poſſeſſions. Having concerted ſuch Meaſures as he thought neceſſary for ſo great an Undertaking, he ſet forward with all his Nation, their Wives and Children, and whatever elſe of value they had in *Pannonia*, out of which they remov'd, after a Continuance of forty two Years in it. He began his March about the beginning of *April*, in the third Year of *Juſtin* the Younger, the ninth of *John*, the third Pope of *Rome*, in the firſt Indiction, *A. D.* 568. *The* Lombards *prepare to Invade* Italy

*Alboin* enter'd into *Italy* by the way of *Iſtria*, and the Country of *Venetia*, without meeting any one in his March that offer'd to oppoſe him; for his Army, being chiefly compos'd of Pagans and *Arians*, drove the whole World with Terror before it. *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, retir'd into an Iſland adjoining, with the moſt valuable Utenſils of his Church; and the greateſt part of the Inhabitants ſav'd themſelves in the *Venetian* Iſlands, ſo that *Aquileia*, being almoſt totally abandon'd, open'd the Gates and receiv'd the King, as did likewiſe *Friuly*, where *Alboin* conſider'd whom he could ſafely truſt with thoſe Territories, which, in a manner, were the Gates of *Italy*, and

through which every Invader was firſt to force his Paſſage. After ſome Debate with himſelf, he conferr'd the Charge on *Giſulphus*, his Nephew, and Maſter of the Horſe, a Perſon in every Reſpect fit for the Employment. By this means *Friuli* was erected into a Dutchy, and has continu'd as ſuch ever ſince. Here *Alboin* diſpers'd his Forces into Winter Quarters, where they found all ſorts of Proviſions in great Abundance, for the preceeding Summer had afforded ſuch a Plenty of all Things as no Age could ever equal.

The Winter being over, *Alboin* mov'd forward with his Army, through which he had eſtabliſh'd an exact Diſcipline, forbidding 'em under the ſevereſt Penalties to affront or diſoblige the Inhabitants, whoſe Friendſhip and good Will he was very deſirous to purchaſe. As he drew near to *Treviſo*, *Felix*, Biſhop of the Place, came out and demanded an Exemption for his Church and Dioceſs, which he very bountifully granted. After he had taken the City, which yielded without any Reſiſtance, and put a Garriſon into it, he march'd on to *Vincentia*, *Verona*, and *Trent*, both which readily ſurrender'd to him, ſo that he was now poſſeſs'd of all the conſiderable Towns in that Quarter, except *Padua*, *Mantua* and *Cremona*, which he thought not fit to attack, either becauſe they lay too much out of the Way, or for that he knew they were ſupply'd with ſufficient Garriſons, and would take up too much of his Time if he ſtay'd to beſiege 'em.

Thus ended the ſecond Year of his Expedition, and he had now got a good Footing in *Italy*, being become Maſter of the greateſt Part of
A.D. *Venetia*, which comprehended much more than
570. what we at preſent aſſign to *Venice*, making one of the eleven Regions into which *Auguſtus* divided *Italy*. *Alboin*, upon the firſt Return of the Spring, enter'd with his Army into *Liguria*, where the People

People were ſo terrify'd at his Approach, that they left their Habitations, and hid themſelves, with ſuch of their Effects as they could carry off, in the moſt remote and inacceſſible Parts of the Mountains, ſo that he enter'd *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and all the Towns thereabouts, up as far as the *Alps*, without any Oppoſition, and at laſt advanc'd towards *Milan*, the Capital of the Country. *Honoratus*, who was at that time Biſhop of the Place, ſeeing there were not Forces in the Town ſufficient for its Defence, retir'd with the principal Inhabitants to *Genoa*, and *Alboin* had the Gates open'd to him at the firſt Summons, for he had threaten'd to deſtroy all with Fire and Sword, if they forced him to make a Breach in the Wall. Here he was firſt proclaim'd King of *Italy*, as well by the Inhabitants as Soldiers; and from this time Hiſtorians give Date to the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, which continu'd for the ſpace of two hundred Years and upwards. *Albion* being thus inveſted with the Royalty, march'd from *Milan* to *Pavia*, which was well fortify'd, and furniſh'd with a very ſtrong Garriſon, and all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition; for this Reaſon finding there was no probability of its yielding, he left a Part of his Army to block it up, and with the reſt laid Siege to *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and other Midland Cities, all which he enter'd with little or no Reſiſtance: From thence he march'd into *Umbria*, where he took *Spoletto*, which he committed to the Cuſtody of a Governor, dignify'd with the Title of a Duke. The ſame he did with the other Cities of any Conſequence that ſubmitted to his Obedience, moſt of which have retain'd the Title of Dutchies to this Day.

*The Beginning of the Kingdom of the* Lombards *in* Italy.

Whilſt this wonderful Progreſs of the Barbarians in the Weſt threaten'd a Subverſion to the Imperial Authority there, the Empire ſeem'd to re-

*The Armenians revolt to the Emperor.*

ceive ſome Recompence in the Submiſſion of the *Armenians*, who ſubjected themſelves to *Juſtin*, and implor'd his Protection. They had for a long time been Vaſſals to the *Perſians*, who had us'd 'em with much Severity, upon the Account of their Religion, which at length provok'd 'em to throw off the Yoke, and apply themſelves to the Emperor, who readily accepted of the Conditions, and ſwore ſolemnly to aſſiſt 'em. Upon which Encouragement they unanimouſly roſe up, and cruelly murder'd all the *Perſians* that were among 'em, renouncing at once their Duty to their lawful Sovereign, and all the Ties of Nature as well as Chriſtianity, of which they made an outward Profeſſion, but diſhonour'd it by their Inhumanity and Diſobedience.

A. D. 572. *Choſroes*, upon the firſt Alarm, charg'd the Emperor with theſe clandeſtine and faithleſs Proceedings; to which *Juſtin* reſolutely anſwer'd, That the Truce was expir'd, and that it did not become his Dignity or Profeſſion to deny his Protection and Aſſiſtance to Chriſtians, demanding it againſt thoſe who cruelly oppreſs'd 'em upon the Account of their Faith. This Reply would have appear'd great and generous, had he arm'd himſelf by any timely Preparations againſt that Storm which he knew it muſt neceſſarily draw upon himſelf, and thoſe whoſe Cauſe he had eſpous'd: Inſtead of which he wallow'd in his wonted Senſualities and Delights. Upon a Report that *Choſroes* was raiſing a powerful Army, in order to reduce the *Armenians*, he ſent *Martianus*, one of the Captains of his Guards, into the Eaſt, but without Soldiers, Arms, or any warlike Proviſions, ſo that he was forc'd to enroll ſuch Vagabonds and indigent Wretches as he met in his way; with whom having by chance defeated a ſmall Body of *Perſians*, on whom he fell before they were aware of his coming, or prepar'd to receive 'em, he had the Confidence to ſet down with

with his ragged Regiment before the City of *Niſibis*, the Gates of which the Inhabitants ſcorn'd to ſhut, reviling the *Roman* Army as a parcel of mercenary Slaves, poſted there to watch the Sheep, rather than beſiege any defenſible Town. In the mean time *Choſroes* having muſter'd his Forces, divided his Army into two Parts, committing one of 'em to the Conduct of *Artabanus*, his General, with Orders to waſte the *Roman* Territories near *Antioch*, and attempt that City, whilſt he march'd with the other over the *Tigris*, in order to raiſe the Siege of *Niſibis*, which the *Romans* themſelves had done before his Arrival. For *Juſtin*, who thought his Order ſufficient to take the Town, without the Aſſiſtance either of Men or Warlike Engines, was highly incens'd againſt *Martianus* for prolonging the Siege, and ſent *Acacius*, a proud, arrogant Man, to degrade him from his Martial Dignity, and deprive him of all his Military Employments. This was to be done upon the Confines, unknown to the Army; but when the Officers underſtood their Captain was caſhier'd, they immediately threw away their Arms and quitted the Siege, rendring the Emperor exceedingly ridiculous to all Mankind for his extravagant Conceits, or rather ſenſeleſs Stupidity. *Artabanus* having e're this paſs'd the *Euphrates*, had been repuls'd from *Antioch*, lately re-built, by a handful of Men, who preſerv'd the City beyond Expectation; after which he march'd to *Apamea*, which he pillag'd and burnt, contrary to his Faith given, for it ſurrender'd upon honourable Conditions. From thence he march'd to join the King, who was preparing to beſiege *Daras*, which held out againſt him for five Months, but was taken in the end, either through the Careleſſneſs or Treachery of the Governor. The Emperor loſt in this Siege, the Flower of his Army, which, together with the Loſs of the Place, it being a Town of the greateſt

greateſt Importance, convinc'd him of his imprudent Management, and gave him a melancholy View of the Condition of his Affairs; the Conſideration of which work'd ſo ſtrongly upon him, he being of a weak Conſtitution, that he often fell into Fits of Madneſs, and was thereby render'd unfit for any publick Buſineſs. This Misfortune happening at a time when the State was expos'd to ſo many Difficulties, as well from the Motions of the *Perſians* in the Eaſt, as the Progreſs the *Lombards* made in the Weſt, the whole Empire ſeem'd expos'd to unavoidable Ruin. In this Extremity, *Tiberius*, a *Thracian* by Birth, and one who had been long converſant in publick Buſineſs, undertook the chief Management of Affairs, to the great Satisfaction of the People in general, as well as by the Advice and Conſent of the Empreſs *Sophia*, and the Great Men at Court. His firſt Advice was to redeem that by ſober Councils which had been loſt through Raſhneſs and Folly, and accordingly ſent *Trajan*, a Man of great Eſteem for his Age and Wiſdom, as Ambaſſador to *Choſroes*, not from the Emperor nor Commonwealth, but from the Empreſs *Sophia*; in whoſe Name he was to repreſent to the King, that *It was not like a generous Prince, nor a Man of Honour, to inſult an helpleſs Woman, or oppreſs an infirm Emperor, or make War againſt a weak, defenceleſs State, deſtitute of all Support and Succour*; that *it would become him to conſider the Vanity and Uncertainty of Human Affairs, which he himſelf had formerly experienc'd; at which time the Emperor readily granted him the ſame Favour ſhe now demanded, and ſent him the beſt Phyſicians the Empire could afford.* *Trajan* enforc'd theſe Particulars ſo handſomly to *Choſroes*, that tho' he had reſolv'd to invade the *Roman* Territories, yet he made a Truce for three Years, and conſented *Armenia* ſhould enjoy the Benefits of it.

During

During theſe Tranſactions in the Eaſt, *Pavia* was taken by the *Lombards*, after it had held out with great Reſolution for three Years together. *Alboin*, who had not been ſo oppos'd any where before, and diſdaining to meet with ſo much Reſiſtance there, had ſworn to put all the Inhabitants to death; but as he was entring the City on Horſeback, his Horſe fell under him at the Gate, and all the Strength and Art they had, could not raiſe him again, tho' they laſh'd him with their Whips, and the King gor'd him deep with his Spurs: Whereupon a *Lombard*, who ſtood near him, ſaid, *Sir, this City is full of Chriſtians; ſo that you muſt firſt revoke the cruel Vow you have made, before you will be permitted to enter.* Upon this he recall'd his Oath, and promiſing Indemnity to the People, his Horſe immediately roſe, and he paſs'd on to the Palace built by *Thedorich*; where the People crowded to behold him, and to ſwear Allegiance to him; ſo that from this time forward, the Kings of the *Lombards* reſided, and kept their Court uſually in *Pavia*. Pavia *taken by the* Lombards.

After this, *Alboin* reign'd in his new Dominions without any, or at leaſt very little, Diſturbance; for tho' his Succeſſors had frequent Conteſts with the Exarchs of *Ravenna*, yet the Exarchate was then in its Birth, and had not Strength ſufficient to contend with ſo powerful a Rival, the Emperor thinking it enough, if his Officers there put a Stop to the further Progreſs of the *Lombards*, and ſecur'd ſo much to the Empire as was not already conquer'd by 'em; and *Alboin*'s Care was firſt to confirm what he had lately acquir'd, before he puſh'd on to freſh Conqueſts: Accordingly he endeavour'd to eſtabliſh Peace and good Order throughout his Dominions, but was ſlain by the Treachery of his Wife, in the fourth Year of his Reign, at *Verona*. This Princeſs, call'd *Roſamond*, was the Daughter of *Cunimond*, King of the *Gepidæ*, whom *Alboin* had

had overthrown before his Expedition into *Italy*, and, like an arrogant Conqueror, made a drinking
A. D. Cup of his Skull; notwithſtanding which, having
574. lately loſt his firſt Wife, he marry'd *Cunimond*'s Daughter, thinking by that Match to ſecure his Conqueſts. Being now feaſting at *Verona* with his chief Favourites and principal Officers, in the Extravagancy of his Mirth he commanded her to drink out of that deteſted Cup; the Horror of which, and her Husband's barbarous Triumph over the Misfortunes of her Family, ſo incens'd her, that ſhe reſolv'd to be reveng'd; and immediately diſcover'd herſelf to *Helmichild*, the King's Armour-bearer, promiſing to give him her ſelf, and the Kingdom of *Lombardy* into the Bargain, if he would aſſiſt her in her Revenge. *Helmichild* liſten'd with a greedy Ear to what ſhe propos'd, and readily embrac'd the Conditions: He knew he was unable to carry on a Deſign of that Conſequence alone, and therefore adviſ'd the Queen to engage *Peredeo*, a Man of great Authority and Intereſt with the King, to aſſociate himſelf with them; *Peredeo* peremptorily refus'd to be conſenting to the Death of his Prince, till the Queen by a ſhameful Stratagem forc'd him to a Compliance. She knowing he maintain'd an amorous Correſpondence with one of her Ladies, plac'd her ſelf in her Bed one Evening, when ſhe knew he was expected, receiv'd and lay with him, whilſt he imagin'd all the while he had his own Miſtreſs in his Arms; before he aroſe, the Queen diſcover'd her ſelf to him, and told him, after what he had done, his own Security depended entirely upon the Death of *Alboin*, and by that means engag'd him in a Treaſon which otherwiſe his Soul abhorr'd. One Day therefore, as *Alboin* lay aſleep in his Chamber after Dinner,
Alboin *Slain.* the Queen introduc'd the Conſpirators, by whom he was Aſſaſſinated. *Roſamond*, having ſecur'd the

the late King's moſt valuable Jewels and Treaſure, fled with that, and *Albiſvinda* her Daughter, and *Helmichild*, who was now her Husband, to *Longinus*, Exarch of *Ravenna*, who receiv'd her very favourably, and aſſur'd her of his Protection; but being a Man of an amorous Temper, he fell in Love with her, and promis'd to marry her, provided ſhe would ſend *Helmichild* out of the way. *Roſamond*, who had marry'd him for the ſake of her Revenge, reſolv'd now to kill him to ſatisfie her Ambition, for ſhe was highly pleas'd with the Vanity of being Miſtreſs of *Ravenna*; ſo that without any Heſitation ſhe prepar'd a Cup of ſtrong Poiſon for him, which ſhe preſented to him as he aroſe out of the Bath and call'd for Drink. *Helmichild* having drank half of it up, quickly found, by the ſudden and ſtrange Operation, what it was, and with his Sword pointed at her Breaſt, compell'd her to drink up the reſt; the Poiſon had the ſame effect in her that it had in her Husband, for they both periſh'd the ſame Moment, and fell a terrible Inſtance of God's Judgment upon Traitors and Murderers. *Longinus* ſent the Treaſure of the *Lombards* and *Albiſvinda*, the King's Daughter, to *Conſtantinople*, together with *Peredeo*, who is ſaid to have follow'd *Roſamond* to *Ravenna*. The Queen, by this untimely Death, prevented the Fury of the *Lombards*, who were enrag'd at her for the Death of their King, under whoſe Conduct they had done ſuch memorable things, and whom they attended to the Grave with ſuch publick Lamentations as the Occaſion requir'd. After which they proceeded carefully to the Choice of a Succeſſor, and the Election fell upon one *Clepho*, a Man of the greateſt Nobility among them; who tho' he was a warlike, valiant Prince, and extended the Kingdom of the *Lombards* to the Gates of *Rome*, yet being of a cruel tyrannical Diſpoſition,

Clepho *Elected King.* A. D. 575.

*and murder'd.* Diſpoſition, he was murder'd with his Wife *Meſſana*, after he had reign'd about a Year and half. He being thus remov'd, the *Lombards*, who had ſuffer'd much by his Tyranny, reſolv'd to ſubject themſelves no more to Kings, but divided their Conqueſts in *Italy*, amongſt thirty of their Principal Captains. This Diviſion continu'd for the ſpace of ten Years and upwards, during which, they behav'd themſelves with all the Barbarity imaginable, without any regard had either to the Churches or Monaſteries, to the Perſons of Prieſts or Biſhops. The moſt remarkable of theſe Dukes were *Giſulphus*, of whom mention has been made already, *Alachis*, *Amo*, *Zaban* and *Rodan*; theſe three laſt, with united Forces, invaded *France*, and having paſs'd the *Alps*, rifled and deſtroy'd all where ever they came. *Gontran*, King of *Orleance*, ſent an Army againſt 'em, under the Conduct of *Amatus*, the Patrician, who gave 'em Battle, which he loſt together with his Life; after which, they rov'd with great Licenſe throughout *Burgundy*, and return'd with ineſtimable Spoils into *Italy*. Having taſted the Sweetneſs of this Expedition, they made a ſecond Attempt, but were defeated near *Ambrun*, a City in the higher *Dauphine*, by *Mummulus*, one of *Gontran*'s Captains, a brave ſagacious Commander, who ſlew ſuch Numbers of 'em, that after this, they never ventur'd to make any Irruptions into *France*, contenting themſelves with their Conqueſts in *Italy*, where they tyranniz'd with unparallel'd Cruelty, without receiving any effectual Oppoſition from the Emperors, who were wholly employ'd in the Affairs of the Eaſt.

TIBERIUS. The Truce between *Juſtin* and the King of *Perſia* being almoſt expir'd, and the Emperor continuing ſtill as uncapable for publick Affairs as ever, this Year created *Tiberius*, *Cæſar*, reſigning up to him the publick Management, reſerving no more

more to himſelf than the meer Name of Emperor. Whilſt *John*, the Patriarch, attended by the Princes and Chief Magiſtrates of State, was inveſting *Tiberius* with the Imperial Purple, *Juſtin* is ſaid to have given him this Advice, *Let not the outward Pomp of Worldly Greatneſs miſ-lead thee, nor entangle thee in ſuch Difficulties, into which I, who truſted too much to the Allurements of Senſe, have miſerably plunged my ſelf; nor do thou ſuffer thy ſelf to be rul'd by theſe Men,* pointing to the Magiſtrates, *for they are the Perſons who have reduc'd me to that wretched Condition in which thou ſeeſt me.* Theſe Words, which he pronounc'd with an unuſual Accent, ſtruck the whole Aſſembly with great Wonder, and drew Tears from ſeveral of them. but wrought more with none than him to whom they were addreſs'd, who immediately apply'd himſelf with great Induſtry to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and made all poſſible Preparations for a War. For *Choſroes*, before the Expiration of the Truce, had over-ran all *Armenia*, and was marching with his Army to Beſiege *Cæſarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*. Tho' *Tiberius* had rais'd a very powerful Army, conſiſting of near one hundred and fifty choice Troops of Horſe, beſides Foot, and was in a Capacity to diſpute it with the King of *Perſia* by Strength of Arms, he however choſe firſt to try, by means of his Ambaſſadors, to prolong the Truce, and eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding between the two Princes. But *Choſroes*, whom his late Succeſs had render'd Haughty and Inſolent, refus'd to give the Ambaſſadors Audience, commanding 'em with much Arrogance, to follow him to *Cæſarea, in which City perhaps he might vouchſafe to hear what they had to ſay*; but when he obſerv'd the *Roman* Army advancing under the Command of *Juſtinian*, the Son of that *Juſtin* who was murder'd at *Alexandria*, when he beheld their

ſhining

ſhining Armour, the Trumpets ſounding to Battle, the Armies ready to join, but above all, ſo vaſt a Body of Horſe, as no Emperor had ever before ſent into the Field; he was ſurpriz'd at ſuch an unexpected Sight, and endeavour'd by all means to decline fighting, and draw off. This was obſerv'd by a *Scythian*, who commanded the Right Wing of the *Roman* Forces, and who therefore charg'd the advanc'd Guard ſo briskly, that the *Perſians* gave Ground, and the whole Army began to be in Confuſion; upon which the *Romans* attack'd his Rear, where all the Baggage and Ammunition lay.

*Choſroes defeated.*

After a ſhort Diſpute the *Perſians* were routed, leaving the Camp to their Enemies, who found in it great Store of Proviſion, and the Royal Treaſure, together with the Fire which *Choſroes* ador'd for his God; the King himſelf continu'd all this while in the Field with the main Body, not daring to engage till the Night drew on; at which time the *Romans* divided their Army into two Bodies. *Choſroes* commanded great Fires to be kindled, and attack'd that Party which lay towards the North, which giving Ground, he pierc'd through and took *Melitina*, a City abandon'd by its Inhabitants, and deſtroy'd it; which when he had done, he prepar'd to croſs the *Euphrates*. In the mean time both Parties of the *Roman* Army being join'd, they purſu'd him ſo cloſe that he was forc'd to ſave himſelf upon an Elephant, whilſt the greateſt Part of his Army were either deſtroy'd by the Swords of their Enemies, or periſh'd in the River. *Juſtinian*, after this Signal Victory, enter'd *Perſia*, where he diſpos'd his Army into Winter Quarters, whilſt none of the *Perſians* had either Strength or Courage enough to reſiſt him; at which *Choſroes*, who now beheld his victorious Enemies in the very Bowels of his Country, from whence he found himſelf unable to remove 'em, was ſo nearly concern'd,

cern'd, that he fell ſick and dy'd. During his Sickneſs he publiſh'd a Law, wherein he forbad his Succeſſors at any time to War againſt the *Romans*; which Law was little obſerv'd by the *Perſians*, who thought it gave too great an Honour to their Enemies. The Account *Agathias* had left us of this Prince's Death is ſomething different from the former. He tells us, That whilſt he was retir'd to the cool Refreſhments of the *Carduchian* Mountains, in the heat of Summer, *Mauritius*, the General of the *Roman* Army, made an Irruption into the neighbouring Parts, and advanc'd, in an hoſtile manner, ſo near to the Place where he reſided, burning all before him, that *Choſroes* himſelf beheld the Flames of the adjacent Towns, and was ſo ſurpriz'd at a Spectacle ſo very unuſual within his own Dominions, that he fell ſick ſuddenly, and was carry'd to *Cteſiphon*, where he dy'd after a long and victorious Reign of forty eight Years. The ſame Author makes him the moſt valiant and ſucceſsful of all their Kings from the time of *Cambyſes*, for which he deſervedly acquir'd the Surname of Great; and it muſt be acknowledg'd that he wanted nothing but a true Knowledge of the Faith of Chriſt, to have been a compleat Prince, being otherwiſe adorn'd with all the Virtues, Moral and Political, that are requiſite to a Crown'd Head. *Juſtinian* continu'd in *Perſia* till towards the latter end of *June*, and then return'd triumphantly back into the Territories of the Empire, having loſt but very few of his Men in the whole Expedition. Choſroes *dies.*

The *Lombards* all this while lay not idle in *Italy*, but under the Conduct of *Fatoald*, Duke of *Spoletto*, ſurpriz'd a little Town call'd *Claſſi*, or *Chiaſſi*, ſituated upon an Arm of the Sea, into which they put a Garriſon, deſigning it as a Curb upon *Ravenna*, near which it ſtood, and where *The Progreſs of the* Lombards *in* Italy.

*Longinus* the Exarch continually reſided. About the ſame time they pour'd themſelves with a numerous Army into *Tuſcany*, where moſt of the Towns being ill provided, ſubmitted to 'em; after which they ravaged all the Country round *Rome*, the Territories of which they miſerably waſted, ſeizing not only upon the Cattle, but the Inhabitants, whom they made Slaves, and tormented 'em with unſpeakable Cruelty: *Longinus* in the mean time being unable to oppoſe 'em, for he found it a difficult matter to ſecure *Ravenna*, in whom he was in a manner block'd up by the Garriſon of *Claſſi*. This gave the *Lombards* an Opportunity of ſtraitning *Rome*, which they did ſo cloſely, that nothing could go in or out of the City, ſo that they thought of maſtering it in a very ſhort time; for it was neither provided with a Governor or Garriſon, nor ſtor'd with any Ammunition or Proviſion; upon which Account the Famine began to rage with great Fury among the Inhabitants: but *Tiberius*, as ſoon as he was inform'd of the Condition the City was in, and how unable it was to hold out much longer, fitted out a handſome Fleet, loaden with Men and Proviſions, which arriv'd very happily at *Rome*, by the way of *Oſtia*, without meeting with the leaſt Oppoſition from the Enemy. The Inhabitants were ſo encourag'd by the ſeaſonable Supplies, that they forc'd the Enemy to raiſe the Blockade, and return home, after having made a Truce with the *Romans*, which however they obſerv'd no farther than as it conduc'd to their Benefit and Advantage.

A. D. 578. About this time *Juſtin*, who had before that withdrawn himſelf from publick Affairs, reſigning all up to the Management of *Tiberius*, left him the Empire too, after he had reign'd ſixteen Years, nine Months and upwards. I know ſome have confin'd his Reign to a ſhorter Term, cutting off from

*Juſtin dies.*

from it the time during which *Tiberius* ſate at the Helm; but ſince all publick Affairs were manag'd in his Name, and his Authority was made uſe of in every thing relating to Peace or War, *Tiberius* his Reign cannot be ſaid properly to begin till his Predeceſſor's Death. *Juſtin*, a little before his Death, call'd *Tiberius* to him, and in the Preſence of the Senate and Patriarch gave him this Advice; *Conſider*, ſaid he, *theſe Imperial Ornaments conferr'd on thee by the ſecret Will and Pleaſure of God, rather than by my Deſignation; this will teach thee to govern with Mercy, and to keep thy Hands unſtain'd with innocent Blood. Honour thy Mother* (meaning *Sophia* the Empreſs) *to whom thou wert firſt a Servant, and art now her Son; behave thy ſelf with as tender regard to the Publick, as thy own private Concerns. Conſider what thou haſt been, and what thou muſt be; for thou well knoweſt what I have been, and what now I am; avoid Pride, and then thou may'ſt be free from Sin. Theſe thou here beholdeſt, are not ſo much thy Servants as Children; when thou ſeeſt them, think the Commonwealth is then in thy view, for in Confidence of thy good Qualities I have made thee Emperor, for the ſake of thoſe who are as dear to me as my own Bowels. Be ſure to have a particular care of the Army, preferring none to any Command in it that are Effeminate or Imprudent; protect the Rich in their lawful Poſſeſſions, and relieve the Neceſſities of the Poor. What I now adviſe thee to, is the Reſult of my own Experience, and therefore thou may'ſt with more ſafety follow it; and may that God, which made Heaven and Earth, put that into thy Heart which I have forgotten.* After this, as he was proceeding in his Diſcourſe to the ſame Purpoſe, his Fit return'd, and carry'd him off. Tho' *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that *Juſtin* was extreamly addicted to Covetouſneſs, and all the other Writers of

that Age ſet him forth as a ſenſual voluptuous Prince, from whoſe ſupine Negligence the State ſuffer'd as much as from the Cruelty and Tyranny of any of his Predeceſſors; yet we muſt either allow him to have acted all that while againſt the Dictates of his own Conſcience, or elſe that he had ſome lucid Intervals, not only in reſpect of his Underſtanding, but Morality; for his two Diſcourſes, at the Promotion of *Tiberius*, and the time of his Death, ſavour nothing of that Prince he is repreſented to us in the Hiſtory of thoſe Times.

II. *Tiberius* was no ſooner advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity upon the Death of his Predeceſſor, before *Anaſtaſia*, his Wife, was by his Order declared *Auguſta*, to the great Regret and Indignation of *Sophia*, who had in a very great meaſure contributed to his Promotion, upon a Preſumption that when once he was confirm'd in the Throne he would marry her; but when ſhe ſaw, contrary to her Expectation, that *Anaſtaſia*, to whom he had been ſecretly marry'd in his private State, was ſaluted Empreſs, ſhe grew his implacable Enemy, and attempted to promote *Juſtinian*, who did the Empire ſuch great Service in the late *Perſian* Wars, watching her Opportunity when *Tiberius*, according to a Cuſtom of the Emperors, went to ſpend thirty Days, during the Vintage, in the Country; but the Emperor being ſeaſonably advertis'd of her Deſigns, haſten'd back before ſhe had time to put 'em in execution, and ſeizing on all the Treaſures, left her juſt enough to keep her from Want, which was all the Puniſhment he inflicted upon her: *Juſtinian* was likewiſe depriv'd of his Command, but it's uncertain whether it was upon the Account of *Sophia*'s Practices, or becauſe he had not the ſame Succeſs as formerly in the Eaſt, whither *Mauritius* was ſent as General in his ſtead.

*Tiberius*

*Tiberius* having thus ſecur'd himſelf againſt any Domeſtick Attempts, began to provide for the publick Security of the Empire, and ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Hormiſda*, King of *Perſia*, with Propoſitions of a Peace between the two Crowns, which were with much Arrogance rejected by *Hormiſda*, a young, tyrannical Prince; whereupon *Tiberius* ſent a powerful Army againſt him, which, after an obſtinate Fight, defeated the *Perſians*, and took their Camp, the Spoil of which was given up to the Soldiers, excepting the Royal Plate and Treaſure, which was carry'd upon twenty Elephants to *Conſtantinople*, together with a greater number of Priſoners, who, by the Emperor's Command, were richly cloath'd, and ſet at Liberty.

*The* Perſians *defeated.*

*Hormiſda*, notwithſtanding this Defeat, continu'd averſe to the Peace, and levying a greater Army than any of his Predeceſſors had rais'd for a long time before, he ſent it towards the Borders, under the Command of his two Generals, *Tamochoſroes* and *Aduarmanes*; for by reaſon of his late Overthrow, and the Danger his Perſon was in, he made a Law that no King of *Perſia* ſhould be preſent in Perſon at any Battle for the future. *Tiberius* had, from the beginning of his Power in the Empire, been purchaſing great Numbers of Slaves from the *Hunns* and other Barbarians, whom he order'd carefully to be inſtructed in the Art of War; theſe he now form'd and divided into regular Troops, committing 'em to the Care of *Mauritius*, his General, who had Orders to join the reſt of the Forces in *Meſopotamia*, and make Head againſt the *Perſians*. *Mauritius* behav'd himſelf with much Valour and Conduct in this War, as may be gather'd from the Writings of *Evagrius*, who promis'd to leave Poſterity a particular Account of it, which however was not perform'd by him or any other; at leaſt, the length of Time, or ſome unhappy

Mauritius *his Exploits in* Persia.

happy Accident, have depriv'd us of it. He tells us briefly, that he took from the *Persians* such Towns and Forts as he judg'd stood most convenient for them, and got such great Booty, that he peopled Islands and Countries that had lain a long time uninhabited, with his Captives, of whom he had Numbers sufficient to form Armies, which fought couragiously against other Nations at Enmity with the Empire: That he defeated *Tamochosroes*, not by the Force of his Arms, but by his own most exemplary Piety, and dependance upon God Almighty; that, on the other hand, *Aduarmanes* was overthrown purely by his Conduct, and the Courage of his Soldiers, and that at a time when *Alamundarus*, General of the *Arabians*, had betray'd him, and, contrary to a most solemn Promise, refus'd to assist him against other *Arabians*, who had embrac'd his Enemies Cause; and *Theodorich*, King of the *Scythians*, had, at the first Onset, shamefully deserted him. This is the Substance of what is left us by *Evagrius* concerning this War; which, tho' it is thought to have begun in the second Year of *Tiberius*, may reasonably be suppos'd to have continu'd till near his Death. And here *Baronius*, who for want of a true Information, found himself unable to wait on *Mauritius* into the Field, is pleas'd to attend him back, after his Victory, to Court, whither he was recall'd by the Emperor; and entertains his Reader by the way with such wonderful Predictions concerning *Mauritius* his future Advancement to the Empire, as seem to require a stronger Authority than that upon which he delivers 'em. However, *Mauritius* being recall'd to Court, was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of

MAURITIUS.

Affection by *Tiberius*, who marry'd him to his Daughter *Constantina*, and created him *Cæsar*. About the same time *Hormisda*, whose great Cruelty at home, and ill Success abroad, had drawn upon him the

the ill Will of his Subjects, ſent his Ambaſſadors to negotiate a Truce with the Emperor, which was at length concluded, tho' not long obſerv'd, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Whilſt *Tiberius* his Arms were thus employ'd for the Defence of the Empire in the Eaſt, he was no leſs ſollicitous for the Purity of the Faith and Protection of the Catholick Religion in the Weſt, as appears from the Succours ſent to *Hermenigild*, the Son of *Leuvigild*, King of the *Goths* in *Spain*. *Leuvigild* was a profeſs'd *Arian*, and a declar'd Enemy to the Orthodox Chriſtians, notwithſtanding which *Childebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, was perſwaded to marry his Siſter *Ingonda* to *Hermenigild*, his Son, and accordingly ſent her royally attended into *Spain*; where when ſhe was arriv'd, all Arts were us'd to make her renounce her Faith and turn *Arian*, in which ſhe was ſo far from complying, that ſhe converted her Husband, who was entirely convinc'd by the ſtrength of her Reaſon, and charm'd by her prudent Behaviour. His Father had, before the Marriage, ſettled upon him part of his Dominions, and among other Cities, that of *Seville*, where he uſually reſided, and where he firſt made a publick Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, and which, according to *Gregory* of *Tours*, provok'd his Father to declare War againſt him; tho' the *Spaniſh* Writers affirm, that *Hermenigild* himſelf was forc'd to revolt, by the cruel Treatment he receiv'd from his Mother in-law, who had gain'd an abſolue Aſcendant over the King, and that he ſurpriz'd and fortify'd *Seville*, and ſeveral other Places, for his own Security. Whatever the Provocation was, it gave a Beginning to a bloody War between the *Goths* in *Spain*, and rais'd a cruel Perſecution againſt the Faithful; inſomuch that many Catholicks, terrify'd by the Sufferings of others, were forc'd to ſubmit to an Abjuration, among whom were ſome Prieſts, A. D. 582.

and even a Biſhop of *Saragoſſa*, call'd *Vincentius*. *Hermenigild*, who was unable to oppoſe his Father, ſent *Leander*, Biſhop of *Seville*, to demand Aſſiſtance from the Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who accordingly ſent him a Supply of Men, the Captain of which being upon his Arrival corrupted by Preſents from the Father, deſerted the Son, who thus abandon'd, fled for Refuge into a Church, whither his Brother came to him, by Order from the King, to aſſure him in his Name of Pardon upon an humble Submiſſion; for a Confirmation of which, himſelf came, and with open Arms embrac'd his Son, promiſing moſt ſolemnly to forget all that was paſt; but as ſoon as he had entic'd him out of his Sanctuary, he loaded him with Chains, and clapp'd him into Priſon, where, when he found he continu'd deaf to all his Threats and Promiſes, and that neither his Kindneſs could allure, nor his Severity terrifie him into a Recantation, he commanded him to be maſſacred; which cruel Sentence was executed accordingly.

A. D. 583. The Year following, *Chagan*, King of the *Avari*, enter'd *Pannonia* at the Head of a powerful Army, and took *Sirmium*; from whence, by his Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperor, he demanded not only a Sum of Money which he had been promis'd to receive annually, but an Addition to it, together with an Elephant to be ſent him every Year, in Conſideration of which he promis'd no more to moleſt the *Roman* Borders. This the Emperor, who was unwilling to draw the Barbarians on that Side againſt him, readily condeſcended to; but when he found *Chagan*, inſtead of being contented, enlarg'd his Demand, he ſent an Army againſt him, and conſtrain'd him to retire out of the Country.

From this time forward we meet with little or nothing in Hiſtory worthy our Obſervation, till the Death of *Tiberius*, nor is it eaſie to determine in what Year he dy'd, ſo great a Difference is there

*Tiberius dies.*

between

between Writers in that Particular; for whereas ſome place his Death in the Year 586, others refer it to this very Year, and tho' the latter Aſſertion ſeems to be ſupported with the ſtrongeſt Reaſon, I ſhall leave the Reader to his Choice, who perhaps may think the thing ſo indifferent in it ſelf, as to deſerve no further Conſideration. Some time before his Death he order'd *Mauritius* to be inveſted with the Imperial Robes, at which Solemnity were preſent *John* the Patriarch of *Conſtantiniple*, and another *John* an Orator, who, in the Emperor's Name, and by his Command, adviſ'd *Mauritius to raiſe his Predeceſſor a beautiful Monument, by well governing the People he had left to his Charge, and adorn his Tomb with his Virtues; to reſtrain the Inſolence of Power by the Force of Reaſon, and wiſely ſteer the dubious Veſſel of Authority, by the ſteady Arts of Philoſophy: Not to think he as far ſurpaſs'd others in Wiſdom as he was advanc'd above 'em in Empire, but to liſten to the wholſome Counſels of his Friends, and to prefer Plain-dealing to Flattery: To have no other Opinion of the Purple with which he was inveſted, than of the vileſt Rag, but to conſider it rather from the deepneſs of its Colour, as the mourning Weeds of Monarchy, and that he was not call'd by it to the Exerciſe of any immoderate Power, but rather to undergo a ſplendid Servitude.* This Oration, pronounc'd in *Tiberius* his Name, drew Tears from the whole Aſſembly, who however applauded his Choice, in appointing ſo worthy a Perſon for his Succeſſor.

His Death was attended with the general Lamentations of the People: He was a Prince of a moſt beautiful Stature, and a Preſence truly compos'd to Majeſty: He was by Nature ſo courteous and engaging, that all Men were allur'd, at the very firſt Addreſs, to love him: He thought it the great Duty of an Emperor to be munificent, and look'd on that Gold as counterfeit which was rais'd *His Character.*

rais'd by Extortion and Oppreſſion: He was cautious in what he reſolv'd, and zealous in the Execution of it: He met with no Enemies during his Reign, but ſuch as were Enemies to the Publick; and no Prince before him ever had more Friends: His Virtues and Abilities were as great as any of his Predeceſſors, tho' confin'd to a narrower Sphere. Whilſt he liv'd he was the common Father of his People, to whom, in the Choice of a Succeſſor at his Death, he may be ſaid to have left a Legacy worthy the Greatneſs of his Mind, and his Affection to his Subjects.

III. *Mauritius* was, upon the Death of *Tiberius*, acknowledg'd Emperor by the Senate, the People, and the Army; and tho' it was thought that now he was abſolute in Power, he would puniſh ſome, who in his Predeceſſor's Reign had highly injur'd and provok'd him, eſpecially *Alamundarus*, Captain of the *Arabians*, who had betray'd him, as was before obſerv'd; yet he ſuffer'd no Perſon to be put to Death, but baniſh'd *Alamundarus* into *Sicily*, and kept his Son in Priſon, who by his great Depredations committed upon the Lands of the Empire, had deſerv'd to loſe his Head. The Emperor, being Crown'd with great Solemnity by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, apply'd himſelf with much Diligence to publick Affairs; and ſeeing the Empire was threaten'd with Wars on every ſide, he rais d what Forces he could, which, with thoſe that were already on foot, were to be employ'd as Neceſſity requir'd. The *Lombards* rag'd all this while with great Violence in *Italy*; for tho' there had been a Truce concluded between them and the *Romans*, they never truly obſerv'd it, but watching all Advantages, continu'd their Devaſtations in one Part or another: *Longinus* in the mean time had not Strength ſufficient

ent to oppoſe them, ſo that *Rome* was in great danger of being more cloſely beſieg'd than ever: Hereupon *Pelagius* the Second, at that time Pope of *Rome*, order'd *Gregory* the Great, his Succeſſor, who then reſided on his Behalf at *Conſtantinople*, to lay before the Emperor the Neceſſity there was to ſend Supplies of Men into *Italy* to oppoſe the Barbarity of the prevailing *Lombards*. Tho' the *Perſian* War was at that time very hot, and requir'd the main Forces of the Empire, yet *Mauritius* recall'd *Longinus*, and ſent *Smaragdus*, a Patrician, to ſucceed him in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*. *Smaragdus* had from his Youth been bred up in the Wars, and upon his firſt Arrival in *Italy* gave a new face to Affairs in thoſe Parts. He brought with him a new Army of choſen Soldiers, ſupply'd with all Neceſſaries for a War, to the great Encouragement not only of the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, but of all *Italy*, which groan'd under the Yoke of the Barbarians. He prov'd very ſucceſsful in ſeveral Engagements with the *Lombards*, and having reſtrain'd the Excurſions of the Garriſon of *Chiaſſi*, he very much enlarg'd that of *Ravenna*. The *Lombards* had then in their Service an experienc'd Commander call'd *Droctulfus*, who being by Birth a *Sueve*, had been taken in his Infancy, and forced from that time forward to follow the Fortunes of that Nation; him the Exarch manag'd with ſo much Addreſs, that he drew him over to his Party, to the great Detriment and Surprize of the *Lombards*, by whom he was entirely truſted, and againſt whom he ſecur'd *Vercelli*, a ſtrong Town, ſituate upon the *Po*, which he ſeiz'd and deliver'd up to *Smaragdus*, who furniſh'd it with a ſufficient Garriſon. The taking of this Town prov'd of great Advantage to the *Romans*, for *Droctulfus* very much incommoded the Enemy by his continual Excurſions upon 'em, and ſent all ſorts of Proviſions

Smaragdus *ſent into* Italy.

sions down the *Po* to the Army of *Smaragdus*, which was then employ'd in the Siege of *Chiassi*.

The *Lombards*, seeing themselves thus press'd by the *Romans*, thought they should never recover their former Reputation, and compleat their Conquest of *Italy*, till they restor'd their ancient and most natural Government by Kings; whereupon they unanimously made choice of *Autharis*, the Son of *Clepho*, who being a forward and active Prince, gave 'em great Hopes of a successful Reign. So soon as he was establish'd in the Government, he undertook the Recovery of *Vercelli*, which, being a Place of so great Importance, he resolv'd, by all means, to force out of the Hands of the *Romans*. The Siege continu'd long, for *Droctulfus* was in the Town with a very strong Garrison, and behav'd himself with much Caution and Courage; so that during the Siege, *Autharis* had leisure to model the Affairs of his Kingdom; and first he took upon him the Name of *Flavius*, and commanded it to be us'd as a Surname by all his Successors, in Imitation of the ancient *Roman* Emperors. He confirm'd to the thirty Dukes their Primitive Power and Authority, dependant of him, but ordain'd that every three Years they should pay him a Moiety of their respective Revenues, for the Maintenance and Support of his Royal Dignity. After this, being reinforc'd by fresh Troops drawn out of the neighbouring Garrisons, he more closely press'd the Siege, and in the end constrain'd *Droctulfus* to surrender upon honourable Terms; for all his Men had Liberty to march out with their Arms and Baggage, and were conducted to *Ravenna*. *Autharis*, being thus Master of the Town, dismantled it, that he might make it unserviceable to his Enemies, if ever it should fall again into their Hands; after which he dispers'd his Troops into Winter Quarters, and then apply'd

*Autharis chosen King of the Lombards.*

apply'd himſelf to the good Settlement of his Kingdom, which he ſupply'd with wholeſome and ſeaſonable Laws, and enforc'd the Obſervance of them with ſo much Vigour, that by degrees he reſtrain'd his Subjects from their accuſtom'd Rapine, Murder and Adultery, all which he puniſh'd with Death. Being born a Heathen, he had hitherto liv'd an Idolater, but now quitted the Errors in which he had been bred, and was baptiz'd. *Gregory* the Great gives us a very particular Reaſon for his Converſion, which is, That a certain *Lombard* having found St. *Peter*'s Golden Key, drew out his Knife with a Deſign to cut it aſunder, inſtead of which, being mov'd by ſome Secret and Divine Impulſe, he cut his own Throat, and fell down dead upon the ſpot. This extraordinary Adventure happen'd in the Preſence of *Autharis*, and ſeveral of his Nobility, who, being all ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected a Tragedy, dar'd not for their Lives attempt to touch the Key, till a certain Catholick of the ſame Nation, who was accidentally preſent, approach'd boldly and took it up. Upon which the King, being convinc'd by the Miracle, commanded another Golden Key to be made like it, and ſent 'em both as a Preſent to *Gregory*'s Predeceſſor of bleſſed Memory. Any Man that has not a Mind to be deceiv'd, can't but laugh at ſo abſur'd and ill contriv'd a Fable; for where doth it appear in Scripture, that St. *Peter* ever wore material Keys: Thoſe our Saviour entruſted him with, are certainly to be underſtood in a Spiritual Senſe, at leaſt they could not be of Gold; for he himſelf tells us, that *Gold and Silver he had none*; and yet with ſuch Miracles as theſe has this Pope compos'd the greateſt part of his Works. And after all, as if one Miracle was not ſufficient for the thorough Converſion of this King of the *Lombards*, it is moſt certain he was inſtructed by an

an *Arian* Biſhop in the Principles of Chriſtianity, and was therefore ever after infected with that Hereſie.

*Smaragdus* lay all this while with his Army before *Chiaſſi*, where he was join'd by *Droctulfus*, and the Forces under his Command. The Beſieg'd had hitherto defended themſelves with ſo much Courage, that the Exarch was as far from maſtering the Town, as when he firſt ſate down before it. *Droctulfus* obſerving that the Defendants had only fortify'd themſelves on that ſide that regarded the Land, and that they lay naked towards the Sea, from whence they never expected an Aſſault, adviſ'd *Smaragdus* to Attack 'em from thence; he ſuddenly put his Advice in Execution, and forc'd 'em to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Some of the Garriſon, who had been moſt obſtinate in the Defence of the Place, were put to Death, and the reſt made Slaves.

A. D. 586.

Whilſt *Smaragdus* the Exarch was thus employ'd with various Succeſſes againſt the *Lombards*, *Mauritius*, who knew what great Occaſion he had for the Forces of the Empire, to carry on the War in the Eaſt, ſollicited *Childebert*, King of the *Franks*, to aſſiſt him in *Italy*. *Childebert* liſten'd to his Ambaſſadors, who brought him a good Sum of Money with 'em to Countenance the Negotiation, and made ſeveral fruitleſs Expeditions into *Italy*. The firſt time the *Lombards* out-bid the Emperor, and brib'd him to return home; another time his Army diſagreed among themſelves, and ſeparated before they were advanc'd far enough to enter upon Action. Notwithſtanding theſe Diſappointments, the Emperor perſuaded him to a third Expedition; and *Childebert* thinking it highly became his Honour at laſt to do ſome remarkable Service for his Allie, rais'd a more numerous Army than he had before; which when he had muſter'd and ſupply'd with every thing neceſſray for the

the Expedition, he order'd 'em to march once more againſt the *Lombards*. *Autharis*, who had formerly declin'd coming to a Battle, and ſecur'd himſelf in his fortify'd Towns, reſolv'd now to fight 'em, thinking, if he could once give 'em an abſolute Defeat, they would have no great Inclination to return hereafter. Accordingly he drew together all the Forces he had, and having, by a ſeaſonable Speech, encourag'd his Army, preſented the Enemy with Battle. The Fight was maintain'd with great Obſtinacy on both ſides, and the Victory, for a good while, continu'd dubious; but at length it declar'd for the *Lombards*, who routed the *French*, and ſlew great Numbers of their Men. Thoſe who eſcap'd the Fight were in a great meaſure deſtroy'd by Hunger and Cold in their Return over the *Alps*, ſo that very few of 'em got ſafe home into their own Country. *Childebert*, being rather provok'd than diſhearten'd by his ill Succeſs, enter'd into a new Alliance with the Emperor, who undertook to act conjointly with him, and promis'd to have a ſtrong Army ready in *Italy*, by that time *Childebert*'s ſhould have made a Deſcent into the Country. Upon theſe Encouragements *Childebert* levy'd freſh Forces, with whom having pierc'd into *Bavaria*, he ſubdu'd and pillag'd it. From thence he march'd into *Italy*, where he expected to be join'd by the Imperialiſts, who never came to the Rendezvous, ſo that *Childebert* was forc'd to be contended with taking a few Towns, in defeating the *Lombards* in ſome ſlight Engagements, and recovering *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which they had taken from his Father *Sigebert*, and which at this Day is called *Lombardy*, from the Name of the Conquerors. All this while *Autharis*, who thought himſelf too weak to contend with the Enemy in the open Field, retir'd in *Pavia*, and diſpers'd his Forces into their Garriſons,

riſons, concluding, upon good Grounds, that this Army of the *French* was no other than a caſual Torrent, which would grow more impetuous by Reſiſtance; but if ſuffer'd to roll on without Oppoſition, would by degrees ſpend it ſelf, and come to nothing. In ſhort, after they had ſpent three or four Months in traverſing the Country, and deſtroying the Fruits of the Earth, they were neceſſitated to return home, after their Army had been, in a great meaſure, diminiſh'd in that hot Climate, and thoſe that remain'd were forc'd firſt to ſell their Cloaths, and at laſt their Arms, to purchaſe Proviſions in their Paſſage. *Autharis*, being thus deliver'd for the preſent, thought it his ſafeſt way to conclude a Peace, if poſſible, with ſo importunate an Enemy, and ſent his Ambaſſadors to negotiate it accordingly, but never liv'd to ſee the Effects of their Negotiations, for he dy'd ſhortly after, and, as ſome ſay, by Poiſon, tho' it doth not appear by whoſe Hands it was prepar'd. And, as after this, the *French* had no Wars with the *Lombards*, till the Reign of *Pepin*, ſo did the Emperor's Arms gain ſome Reſpite by his Death; for the Truce, which about this time was concluded, met with a more exact Obſervance than formerly, and *Mauritius* was more at leiſure to attend the War which rag'd with great Fury in the Eaſt.

Tho' *Hormiſda* was the firſt that propos'd a Truce, as we obſerv'd before, he was the firſt that broke it; for finding the *Lombards* were too ſtrong for the Emperor in *Italy*, and that the Barbarians were in Motion on every ſide, and having in ſome meaſure compos'd the Diſcontents of his Subjects, he rais'd a great Army, and advanc'd into the Territories of the Empire, deſtroying the Country about him, and putting all that came in his way to Death. Againſt him the Emperor firſt diſpatch'd *John*, a *Thracian*, and made him General

neral of his Forces in the East. *John* at first behav'd himself very gallantly, for he defeated an advanc'd Party of the *Persians*, and forc'd the main Body to retire; but whether he was by degrees corrupted by *Hormisda*, or had entertain'd some Dislike to the Emperor, by whom he thought he was not rewarded according to his Deserts, he in the end grew negligent and useless, and suffer'd the Enemy to gain so much upon him, that *Mauritius* found it necessary to remove him, and sent *Philippicus*, who had marry'd his Sister, to command in his stead. *Philippicus* was a Person generally belov'd by the People, whom he had oblig'd by his Liberality, so that he levy'd a considerable number of Forces in his Passage, with which, having join'd those that were already in the East, he made a very formidable Army. His principal Care, before he enter'd into Action, was to restore the ancient Military Discipline, restraining the Soldiers from that excessive Riot and Intemperance, to which they had been too long accustom'd. After this he made two Irruptions into *Persia*, in both which he show'd himself a General of good Courage, Conduct and Success. In the first of 'em he warily escap'd an Ambuscade, which *Cardariga*, the King of *Persia*'s General, had laid for him under the Mountains of *Media*, and return'd with great Booty which he had rais'd upon the Enemy's Country without any Control. In the second he encounter'd *Cardariga*, who trusting to the Numbers of his Men, and relying upon the Faith of his *Magi*, who had promis'd him an assur'd Victory, advanc'd with so much Confidence, as if he was marching to a Triumph rather than a Battle, and had prepar'd Chains for his Prisoners. *Philippicus*, being no ways terrify'd at the Multitude of his Enemies, prepar'd to receive him with a true *Roman* Courage and Great-

Philippicus *sent General into the East.*

neſs of Mind. As both Armies were ready to engage, he exhorted his Soldiers to rely upon the Protection of their Saviour, and to behave themſelves like Men, whoſe Faith was founded in him; and then, having given the Word, he charg'd the *Perſians* with much Reſolution, who receiv'd him with an equal Confidence; but after they had ſtood their Ground for a conſiderable while, they were forc'd to give way, and left the *Romans* Maſters of the Field. The next Morning *Cardariga* rally'd his Forces, and renew'd the Fight, but was again defeated with a greater Loſs than what he had ſuſtain'd the Day before, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping the *Romans* in the Purſuit. Two thouſand of the *Perſians* which were taken, *Philippicus* ſent to *Conſtantinople*, as Meſſengers of his ſignal Victory. *Philippicus*, having refreſh'd his Army, prepar'd to march farther into the Country, ſending *Heraclius*, his Lieutenant, with a detach'd Party before him. In the mean time *Cardariga*, tho' he had been twice defeated, loſt none of his Courage or Zeal for his Maſter's Service, but gathering all the Forces together that remain'd after his late Misfortunes, he ſtood upon his Guard, and deſigning to contend no more in the open Field, he lay prepar'd for any Opportunity, which he thought he might manage to his own Advantage. Some Deſerters had inform'd him, that the *Roman* Army was divided, and that thoſe under the Command of *Philippicus* lay ſecure in the Confidence of their late Victories, and an Aſſurance that he was in no Condition to aſſault 'em. Whereupon he paſs'd ſecretly over the Mountains, and in the Night-time fell ſo furiouſly upon the Rear of the *Roman* Army, that *Philippicus*, who little expected ſo ſudden an Allarm, fled in great Conſternation, being follow'd by the whole Army, who made ſuch haſte, that the *Perſians*, fearing ſome

*Put to Flight by the* Perſians.

ſome Deſign, dar'd not purſue the Chace, till the Light returning, deliver'd the *Romans* from their Fear, and ſhow'd their Enemies what an Advantage they had loſt. *Heraclius* was all this while obeying the Orders he had receiv'd, with more Execution and better Succeſs; for having paſs'd the *Tigris*, he took ſeveral Cities without any Oppoſition, the People being terrify'd more by the Fame of the late Victories than the Numbers of his Men, and return'd with the Spoils of the Country to *Philippicus*; who, aſham'd of his late Miſcarriage, was drawing all his Forces together, and prepar'd to revenge it upon his Enemies, when he receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to return to *Conſtantinople*, and reſign the Command of the Army to *Priſcus*, which occaſion'd a great and dangerous Mutiny. For *Priſcus*, tho' otherwiſe an old experienc'd Officer, was exceſſive Proud and Imperious: Being arriv'd at the Army, he behav'd himſelf ſo arrogantly, and us'd the Soldiers with ſo much Rigour and Severity, that they roſe up in a general Mutiny againſt him, pillag'd his Tents, and conſtrain'd him to fly for his Safety to *Edeſſa*, whither the moſt violent of the Mutineers follow'd him, and demanded him of the Inhabitants, who however reſolutely refus'd to expoſe him to their Fury. The Soldiers ſeeing themſelves without a Head, forc'd *Germanus* to take the Charge of the Army upon him: *Germanus* at firſt excus'd himſelf, alledging, it was a thing not to be done without a Commiſſion from the Emperor, whom he would by no means diſoblige: Tho' this was a very reaſonable Excuſe, yet they perſiſted in their Demand, till by outrageous Violences they oblig'd him to ſubmit, and undertake to conduct 'em, or rather to be conducted by 'em; for they were grown headſtrong and ungovernable, and broke out into all manner of Diſorder. Thoſe Officers that

A. D. 587.

*A dangerous Mutiny.*

would not ſuffer 'em to behave themſelves as they pleas'd in their Quarters, where they were grown inſolent and inſupportable, they diſplac'd, and ſubſtituted others of a more complying Temper in their room. The Emperor, being inform'd of the Mutiny, ſent *Phi ippicus* back into the Eaſt, to reduce 'em to their Duty and Military Diſcipline; but he found 'em furious, like wild Beaſts, ready to tear thoſe in pieces who preſum'd to teach Obedience among 'em. This Diſorder continu'd in the Army above a Year, during which the *Perſians* were encourag'd to invade the adjoining Provinces, in hopes that the *Romans* were too buſily employ'd among themſelves to think of oppoſing them; notwithſtanding which, *Germanus* march'd againſt 'em, and gave 'em ſuch a Defeat, that there was ſcarce one left to carry an Account of it into *Perſia*. The Emperor perceiving they ſtill continu'd obſtinate, ſent *Andreas*, the Captain of his Guard, to appeaſe 'em, and perſwade 'em to return to their Obedience; but when he found they gave no Ear to all they could ſay, he made choice of *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, to mediate the Matter between them. *Gregory* was the fitteſt Man in the Empire to be employ'd in that Conjuncture, for he was both a prudent Man, and had a great Influence over the Soldiers, whom he had frequently reliev'd, and ſupply'd with Meat, Drink and Apparel. The good Biſhop readily accepted of the Employment, and procur'd the chiefeſt among 'em to give him a Meeting at *Litarbis*, a Town three hundred Furlongs diſtant from *Antioch*, where he made an excellent Diſcourſe, in which he repreſented to 'em, *how much the Safety of their Country, and the Honour of the Empire, requir'd them to ſubmit to the Emperor*; that *it was now in their Power entirely to break and ruin the Strength of the* Perſian, *but that it would be a laſting Diſgrace to Poſterity, if they omitted the Opportunity*;

*nity;* that *the Victory they had lately obtain'd under the Conduct of an illegal Commander, was an Earneſt to 'em of the great Things they would perform, when led on by a lawful General.* This Diſcourſe was attended with more efficacious Tears, which wrought ſo powerful upon the Minds of the Soldiers, that they unanimouſly promis'd to do whatever he would have 'em; but when he mention'd *Philippicus* for their General, they reply'd, that the whole Army had oblig'd themſelves by Oath, never to receive him as ſuch again; from which however they at length departed, at the Biſhop's importunate Entreaties, and after he had abſolv'd 'em from it. Having brought 'em to ſo good a Temper, he invited the chief Officers, to the number of two thouſand, to Supper; and immediately upon *Philippicus* his Arrival, they preſented themſelves to him, begging his Pardon for what was paſt, and promiſing an implicit Obedience for the future. *Philippicus* receiv'd 'em very civilly, and having muſter'd his Forces, he prepar'd for Action; for he was inform'd that *Murazas*, a new General, had taken the Field with a greater Army of *Perſians* than any before, which is a great Argument of the Wealth and Power of that State; for tho' they had frequently been overthrown, and loſt great Numbers of their Men, yet they ſtill return'd with recruited Forces, and always had Peace from the Empire at the firſt asking, ſo unwilling were the Emperors to contend with them.

*Appeas'd by the Biſhop of* Antioch

After ſeveral Towns had been loſt and regain'd on either ſide, the two Armies came ſo near together, that a Battle ſeem'd unavoidable, which *Philippicus* was unwilling to decline, tho' the Enemy far exceeded him in Numbers of Men: It was fought with great Obſtinacy on both Hands for ſome time, till at length Fortune declar'd for the *Romans.* The greateſt Part of the *Perſians* dy'd fighting

*The* Perſians *beaten*

fighting upon the ſpot, and among the reſt, their General was kill'd by one of *Philippicus* his Guards; three thouſand were taken Priſoners, the reſt, to the number of two and twenty hundred Men, ſecured themſelves by Flight, and gave the King a melancholy Account of the Campaign, who however made great Preparations to repair his Loſſes and Diſhonour the next Summer.

A. D. 588. The Joy the Emperor conceiv'd for this ſignal Victory, was much leſſen'd by a terrible Earthquake, which about the ſame time once more deſtroy'd the unfortunate City of *Antioch*, and ſixty thouſand of its Inhabitants; and the Year following, there happen'd ſuch an Inundation in *Italy* as had never been known ſince the Univerſal Deluge, deſtroying great Multitudes of Men, beſides other living Creatures. The River *Atheſis* flow'd as high as the Windows of St. *Zeno*'s Church, near *Verona*, part of whoſe Walls were deſtroy'd by it. *Gregory* the Great, who ſucceeded *Pelagius* the Second in the Popedom ſhortly after, tells us, according to his uſual Cuſtom of recording improbable Miracles, that tho' the Waters were ſwoln as high as the Windows of the Church, and the Doors were left wide open, yet the Inſide of the Church continu'd dry, and the People that had retir'd thither for their Safety, drew Water out of the Porch, as from a Ciſtern. At *Rome* the *Tiber* was ſo overcharg'd, that it ſurmounted the very Walls of the City, and deſtroy'd a great number of publick Buildings, together with the Corn that was depoſited in the publick Magazines. A great quantity of Serpents, follow'd by a Dragon of a prodigious Bigneſs, were ſeen to paſs down the River into the Sea, where the ſalt Water deſtroy'd 'em. This Inundation left ſuch a nauſeous filthy Slime behind it, as infected the Air, and created the Plague, which ſpread it ſelf throughout all *Italy*.

Not-

Notwithſtanding theſe publick Calamities, the Emperor omitted nothing that was proper for carrying on the War in *Perſia*, whither he had ſent *Philippicus* freſh Supplies of Men and Money, with Orders to recover *Martyropolis*, which had been lately betray'd to the *Perſians*. *Philippicus* found it impoſſible to take the City for want of warlike Engines, and therefore fortify'd the adjacent Caſtles to intercept whatever Succours the *Perſians* ſhould attempt to ſend thither; notwithſtanding which, the Garriſon received conſiderable Supplies, and held out with very good Succeſs: Whereupon *Philippicus* was recall'd, and *Commentiolus* ſent to command in his ſtead. *Commentiolus* fought the *Perſians*, defeated them, and took the important Caſtle of *Ochas*, which being built on an high Rock over-againſt *Martyropolis*, very much incommoded the Garriſon. *Hormiſda* was very much concern'd at theſe Loſſes, which he attributed to *Barames*, his General, to whom he ſent a diſdainful Meſſage, and a Woman's Habit, as the moſt proper Garb for one who he thought had behav'd himſelf ſo much unlike a Soldier, and order'd *Ferrochanes* to command in his ſtead. *Barames*, who imputed this ill Succeſs to Fortune, and not any neglect in his Office, was highly offended at ſo injurious a Reſentment, and conſpir'd againſt his Maſter. He poiſon'd the Army by ſeveral forg'd Letters produc'd amongſt 'em, and drew *Ferrochanes* himſelf over to his Party: They found it no difficult Matter to put their Deſigns in Execution, for they knew *Hormiſda* was generally odious to his Subjects for his Cruelty; ſo that having depriv'd him of his Crown, they advanc'd his Son *Choſroes* to the Throne, ſaw'd his Wife and other Son aſunder before his Eyes, which then they pluck'd out, and threw him into Priſon; where *Choſroes* treated him under-hand with much Civility, giving him a large Allowance of Proviſi-

Hormiſda *depos'd by his Subjects.*

ons, which however the offended Prince ſo little acknowledg'd, that he diſdainfully trampled under Foot whatever was brought him; whereat his Son was ſo enraged, that, forgetting all Obligations of Nature, he commanded him to be beaten to Death with Cudgels.

*and murder'd by his Son* Choſroes.

The *Perſians* were very much diſpleas'd at this unnatural Action in their Prince, who ſhortly after gave the Nobility farther Provocations, in putting ſeveral of their Order to death, upon a bare ſuſpicion that they were diſaffected to him; ſo that a powerful Party was rais'd againſt him, and he forc'd to march at the Head of his Army to puniſh the Malecontents: but as he was ready to engage, all his Men forſook him, and fled over to the Conſpirators. In this abandon'd Condition he was forc'd to fly, uncertain whither to direct his melancholy Steps; having recommended himſelf to the Protection of the God of the Chriſtians, he threw the Reins looſe upon his Horſe's Neck, and reſolv'd to follow him where ever he ſhould go. Being arrived at *Circaſium*, a *Roman* Town on the Frontiers, with his Wife and two ſmall Children, attended by ſuch of his Servants who were too juſt and faithful to leave him in his Misfortunes, he from thence writ in a very pathetick Style to the Emperor, beſeeching him to commiſerate his deplorable Condition. *Mauritius*, in a juſt Senſe of the Uncertainty of Human Greatneſs, receiv'd him very affectionately, and having entertain'd him like a Prince at *Conſtantinople*, he ſent him back with a powerful Army of *Romans*, and a prodigious Sum of Money to augment it by new Levies of *Perſians*. *Choſroes* being thus furniſh'd, march'h back to *Perſia*, and was receiv'd into *Martyropolis*, where *Sittas*, who had formerly betray'd the City to the *Perſians*, and had now ſided with the Rebels, was put to Death: After this he had *Daras* deliver'd up

*who being dethron'd flies for Refuge to the Emperor,*

up to him, and purſuing *Burames*, who had been the principal Actor in the Rebellion, he defeated him, and conſtrain'd him to fly with great Infamy. This laſt Advantage quite broke the Power of the Rebels, and *Choſroes* was reſtor'd to his Throne with as much Eaſe, as he had been driven from it. Tho' he was naturally a proud and arrogant Prince, yet in this Conjuncture he appear'd grateful and munificent; for he ſent very rich Preſents to *Gregory* of *Antioch*, and others, who had been zealous with the Emperor for his Reſtauration, and inſtrumental in it. A. D. 591. *and is reſtor'd by him.*

IV. *Choſroes* being thus reſtor'd to the Throne of his Anceſtors, by the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, a profound Peace enſu'd thereupon in the Eaſt, but the *Lombards* continu'd their Hoſtilities more or leſs, from the Death of *Autharis* in *Italy*. Immediately upon his Deceaſe, the Chief of the Nation aſſembled at *Pavia*, to elect a Succeſſor, and when they could not agree among themſelves in their Choice, they remitted it to *Theudelinda*, the Widow of the Deceaſed, who, for her Virtue, was in much Eſteem among them. She, upon the Advice of thoſe who were in greateſt Credit with her, beſtow'd her ſelf and the Kingdom upon *Agilulf*, or *Aigulf*, Duke of *Turin*; which Choice was univerſally approv'd by the reſt of the *Lombards*, for he vas a valiant Man, and had all the Qualities requiſite in a compleat Governor. For five Years together, during which *Romanus* had been Exarch of *Ravenna*, he had ſignaliz'd himſelf in no conſiderable *Action* againſt the *Lombards*, who therefore oppreſs'd the Country, almoſt as much by their Thefts and Robberies in Times of Truce, as they could in an open legitimate War: At length, having by fair Words, and a conſiderable Preſent, perſwaded *Mauriſio*, Duke of *Perouſe*, to embrace the Aigulf *choſen King of the* Lombards.

Emperor's Party, he made a formal Visit to *Rome*, and in his Return seiz'd on several Cities belonging to the *Lombards*, which were deliver'd up to him by the Authority and Assistance of *Mauritio*. *Aigulf*, enrag'd at this, march'd with a great Army from *Pavia*, and sate down before *Perouse*, which, after a hot, but short Resistance, he took, and in it *Mauritio*, whom he put to Death for his Treason; and having plac'd a Governour there of experienc'd Parts and Fidelity, he directed his Course towards *Rome*, taking several Towns in his Passage, and having destroy'd the Country all about, he laid close Siege to the City, but was so vigorously repuls'd by the Inhabitants, that at length he was glad to listen to the Entreaties of Pope *Gregory*, who with the Queen's Intervention, purchas'd a Peace for his *Romens*. *Aigulf* return'd home with the Prisoners he had taken, and having coupled them like Dogs, he sent 'em into *France*, where they were sold for Slaves.

*Concludes a Truce with the* Romans. A. D. 594.

It appears, from an Epistle of this Bishop's to *Constantina* the Empress, that the Inhabitants of those Parts were more oppress'd and afflicted by the Emperor's Officers there, than by the *Lombards*; that their Impositions were so great and burdensome, that several were forc'd to sell even their Children to raise Money for the Collectors, who behav'd themselves in their Office with all the Rigour imaginable; and being at such a Distance from their Master, they promis'd themselves all Impunity, and therefore labour'd to obstruct the Peace, which would put an end to those extraordinary Taxes, and their cruel Exactions.

Shortly after the Conclusion of the Peace, in which *Gregory* had so earnestly labour'd, *Romanus* the Exarch dy'd, and *Gallicanus* was sent to succeed him by the Emperor. *Gallicanus* was a Man of Courage and Experience, who at first religiously observ'd the Peace concluded by his Predeces-

ſor, but finding ſome time after that, *Aigulf* was employ'd in ſuppreſſing Domeſtick Inſurrections, he openly broke it, and ſeiz'd on *Parma*, wherein he took the King's Son-in-Law and Daughter; at which the King was ſo highly provok'd, that he reſolv'd to purſue the *Romans* with greater Fury than ever, and force thoſe Towns from 'em which the Arms of the renown'd *Alboin* could not conquer. Accordingly he enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance with *Cacanus*, or *Chagan*, King of the *Avari*, of whom we ſhall hear more hereafter, and having rais'd a conſiderable Army, he laid cloſe Siege to *Cremona*, which he took and demoliſh'd; from thence he march'd to *Mantua*, which met with the ſame Fate, as did likewiſe ſeveral other Cities which had revolted from him to the *Romans*. In the mean time *Gallicanus* dy'd at *Ravenna*, whither *Samaragdus* was ſent once more to command, but with ſuch ſmall Forces that he found himſelf an unequal Match for the *Lombards*, and therefore labour'd earneſtly to renew the Truce, which accordingly he effected, and prolong'd from Time to Time for a conſiderable while after.

It is not unlikely, but had the Emperor purſu'd the War with Vigour, he might have much weaken'd the *Lombards* in *Italy*, who were divided into Factions amongſt themſelves, and having taſted the Sweetneſs of an imaginary Liberty under the Government of their Dukes, they never after grew ſtedfaſt in their Obedience, nor contributed, as they might, to thoſe Deſigns which aim'd more at the aggrandiſing of their King, than the enriching of themſelves. But as on the one hand the Emperor had been highly incens'd againſt the Pope, who he thought aſſum'd too much to himſelf, and uſurp'd too unlimited an Authority, ſo on the other the frequent Irruptions of the *Hunns* and *Avari* ſeem'd to require his utmoſt Application.

*Chagan*,

Chagan's *Succeſs againſt the Emperor.*

*Chagan*, or *Cacanus*, their King, appear'd a declar'd Enemy to the Empire, which he had often infeſted by his Depredations, depopulating Towns, and impoveriſhing the Country. The Army, which had been ſent into the Eaſt to aſſiſt *Choſroes*, was recall'd to be employ'd againſt 'em, after ſeveral expenſive ways had been ſet on foot to purchaſe their Friendſhip. The War for ſome time was carry'd on with various Succeſs; for tho' *Mauritius* had miſcarry'd in an Expedition, which he made in Perſon againſt them, yet they were often defeated by his Generals, and forc'd to return ingloriouſly home, whither *Mauritius*, having rigg'd out a very powerful Fleet, threaten'd to carry the War. Tho' ſome Authors are of Opinion, that the Emperor made thoſe Preparations with no other Intent but to amuſe the Barbarians, and frighten 'em with a pretended Invaſion, yet *Evagrius* ſeems to think him in earneſt; and here we are to take leave of this Author, whoſe Hiſtory reaches down no farther than to the twelfth Year of *Mauritius*. He divided it into ſix Books, beginning there where *Theodoret* left off. Who ever has read it, muſt allow him Superſtitious to a very high Degree, relating great numbers of Miracles which very often appear ridiculous, abſurd and improbable; but Superſtition was a Weakneſs, which about that time began to gain very much upon the World, occaſion'd by the great number of Monks, who colour'd over their Ignorance and Irreligion with an outward Appearance of a very extraordinary Sanctity. However, tho' this Fault is evident in all the Writings of this Author, yet he tells us they acquir'd him the Favour of the Emperors *Tiberius* and *Mauritius*, who conferr'd upon him many honourable and profitable Employments.

Theſe Diſappointments no way diſcourag'd *Chagan*, who return'd every Year with freſh Forces, and

and ſtill took care to make the Territories of the Empire, more than pay the Expence of his Expedition. He was exceſſive Proud and Arrogant, often declaring upon ſeveral Occaſions, that *he would make himſelf Lord and Maſter of all Nations*; yet ſometimes he knew how to behave himſelf with much Condeſcenſion and Generoſity, as he did towards the latter end of this Emperor's Reign, at what time the *Roman* Army quarter'd at *Singedon*, in *Myſia*, under the Command of *Priſcas*, who was the moſt fortunate of all the Generals the Emperor had ſent againſt him, was ready to ſtarve for want of Subſiſtence; for he ſent him forty Waggons loaden with all manner of Proviſions to refreſh his Soldiers, and enable 'em to celebrate the high Feſtival of *Eaſter*, which was then at hand, with ſuch a Chearfulneſs as became the Chriſtian Profeſſion; during which time he abſtain'd from all Acts of Hoſtility, but as ſoon as it was over, the Barbarians ſeparated, and waſted the whole Country of *Thrace*, and approach'd without any Oppoſition towards *Conſtantinople*; at which the Inhabitants were ſeiz'd with ſo great Conſternation, that they thought of quitting *Europe*, and removing, with the beſt of their Effects, to *Chalcedon*, and other Places in *Aſia*. But *Mauritius*, who alone ſeem'd unmov'd at the impendent Storm, made the beſt Preparations he could for a Defence, fortifying the Walls, and arming the Citizens, who ſeem'd reviv'd at the Courage they obſerv'd in their Emperor. Notwithſtanding which, the Senate perſwaded him to ſend an Embaſſy to *Chagan*, and try by fair Words and magnificent Preſents to mollifie the Barbarians. Theſe Preparations were worthy the Emperor's Care, and manifeſted the Affection he had for the State, but at this time prov'd unneceſſary; for ſo great a Plague had ſeiz'd on the Barbarians, that *Chagan* loſt no leſs than

A. D. 600.

ſeve.i

*A great Plague deſtroys the Army of the Barbarians.*

ſeven of his own Sons in one Day, whereat being extreamly afflicted, he prepar'd to return home, and offer'd to releaſe his Captives, of whom he had twelve thouſand, for a Crown a Head. Tho' this Offer ſeem'd very reaſonable, and what *Mauritius* ought readily to have embrac'd, yet being, as he is generally reported, of a narrow parſimonious Temper, he refus'd to accept of it; at which *Chagan* was ſo incens'd, that in great Indignation he put all the Priſoners to the Sword. This Inhumanity exceedingly loſt *Mauritius* the Love of his Subjects, and he himſelf grew ſo ſenſible of it ſhortly after, that he often awak'd in the Night time with great Anxiety, fancying ſome of thoſe who had been Slain appear'd to him, and upbraided him for the Loſs of ſo many brave Men, who had been the Bulwark of his Empire. This, if it be true, will ſerve to inſtruct Princes how tender they ought to be of the Blood of their Subjects, if they would avoid drawing down the Divine Vengeance upon their Heads, which, after this, purſu'd *Mauritius* and his whole Family, to their utter Deſtruction; for from this time forward, the Army grew very much diſaffected to him, and even his Succeſs ſeem'd to haſten on his Ruin. For *Priſcus* had in ſeveral Encounters the Advantage of the Barbarians, of whom he ſlew above thirty thouſand, together with two of the King's Sons, and had taken above five thouſand Priſoners; whereupon *Chagan* ſent immediately to *Conſtantinople* to deſire a Reſtitution of Captives on both ſides, and ſo ſurpriz'd the Emperor, who was ignorant what Multitudes he had in his Hands, that without any more Conſideration, he order'd 'em all to be diſmiſs'd, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the Soldiers, who thought him too profuſe of what they had purchas'd with ſo much hazard. After this he met with nothing but Croſſes and Diſap-

Diſappointments during the remaining part of his Reign. The General Officers in the Army became arrogant, the Soldiers mutinous, and the People in general diſcontented. The Emperor himſelf grew melancholy and uneaſie, fancying his Fate approach'd, and that he had not long to live: He ſpent moſt of his Time in Prayer and Religious Retirements, in providing for his Children and ſettling his Family, in all which he behav'd himſelf with an entire Reſignation to the Will of God, and prepar'd himſelf for the worſt that could befal him. His Death is ſaid to have been uſher'd in by ſeveral things that portended his Ruin, which however did not render it more remarkable, than his exemplary Behaviour in that laſt of Trials. Thoſe who have written of it tell us, that a Lamp, which for a long time had been kept continually burning in the Church, went out of it ſelf, and tho' all ways imaginable were taken to reſtore it by the Monks that attended, yet it would by no means be rekindled. *Gregory* the Great ſaith, That at Noon-Day, in the Market-place of *Conſtantinople*, a Perſon cloath'd like a Monk appear'd publickly to the Emperor with a Sword in his Hand, and cry'd out with a loud Voice, *By this ſhall the Emperor* Mauritius *die*, after which he immediately diſappear'd. Some foretold the Emperor that he ſhould fall by the Hands of one, whoſe Name began with *Ph* which made him ſuſpect *Philippicus*, his Siſter's Husband, and thereupon he threw him into Priſon; but being inform'd in a Dream that it was not *Philippicus*, but a Captain in his Army, call'd *Phocas*, was to do the Deed, he releas'd his Brother, and on his Knees beſought him to forgive his Fears. After this he commanded Prayers to be made for him in all Churches, and apply'd himſelf, the beſt he could, to publick Buſineſs. His Brother *Peter*, at that time, commanded the Army

*Several ſtrange Accidents preceeding the Death of* Mauritius.

Army upon the *Danube*, to whom he ſent his Orders to paſs with the Forces over the River, and
A. D. 602. Winter in the Enemy's Country; the Soldiers, who thought it done on purpoſe to expoſe 'em to new Hardſhips, in a great Mutiny declar'd *Phocas*, a Centurion, Emperor, and lifting him up on a Target, with repeated Acclamations, as ſuch ſaluted him: The News of which Revolution being divulg'd throughout *Conſtantinople*, almoſt as ſoon as the Intelligence of it was brought to Court, the Mob, for the moſt part fond of Change, fell into great Tumults and Diſorders; which when the unfortunate Emperor obſerv'd, he in great Conſternation embark'd with his Wife and Children, with an Intent to retire into ſome Place of Safety, but met with contrary Winds, which drove 'em back, ſo that he was forc'd to return into the City, where he took care to hide himſelf till he could meet with ſome more convenient Seaſon to eſcape.

*Phocas declar'd Emperor by the Soldiers.*

In the mean time *Phocas*, being veſted with the Imperial Purple, advanc'd at the Head of his Army directly towards *Conſtantinople*, where the Governor of the City, the Senate, and the Patriarch went out to meet him, and receiv'd him with the general Applauſe of the People. After the Patriarch had receiv'd from him the Confeſſion of his Faith, with a Promiſe to maintain the Rights of the Church, and preſerve the Peace thereof, he was ſolemnly Crown'd in the Preſence of the People in the Church of St. *John Baptiſt*, and, according to Cuſtom, went in Proceſſion to the *Circus*, two Days after, to be preſented at the publick Shows; where ſome hot Diſputes ariſing between the two Factions formerly mention'd, *Phocas* ſent his Guards to appeaſe the Tumult, but the Soldiers dealt ſo roughly with ſome of the moſt obſtinate, that their Friends cry'd out in a tumultuous manner, *that* Mauritius *was not yet dead*, and threaten'd

threaten'd to re-eſtabliſh him; who, they ſaid, *would do 'em Juſtice.* The Tyrant's Jealouſie being awaken'd at this Reprehenſion, he, in a great Paſſion, gave Order that diligent Search ſhould be made for *Mauritius*, deſigning to eſtabliſh his own Authority in the Death of his Competitor. As ſoon as he was found, he commanded him to be dragg'd, with his Children, to *Chalcedon*, where firſt, by the Tyrant's Orders, five of that Prince's Sons were murder d before his Face; during which, he behav'd himſelf with ſo much Courage and Submiſſion to Providence, and was ſo far from repining, or being impatient, that when a Nurſe had hid one of his youngeſt Sons, and plac'd her own in his ſtead, the Emperor would not permit it, but diſcover'd him to the Executioner, frequently repeating theſe Words, *Juſt art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy Judgments.* Tho' this Circumſtance, which is related with great Aſſurance of him, appears ſomething extraordinary at the firſt View, yet I believe the Reader, upon a farther Conſideration, will conclude that it ſavours too little of a natural Affection to be grounded upon the juſt Motives of Chriſtian Religion. After he had thus beheld the Death of his Children, he readily ſubmitted his own Neck to the Executioner. Their Heads were caſt on a Heap in the Fields near the *Forum* in *Conſtantinople*, where they lay till they putrify'd, and then the Tyrant ſuffer'd 'em to be bury'd with their Bodies. *Conſtantina*, the Wife of *Mauritius*, fled with her Daughters into a Church in *Conſtantinople*, from whence the Murderers prepar'd to force her, but were oppos'd by the Patriarch and the People, who would not ſuffer any Violence to be offer'd to 'em; inſomuch that they continu'd there in Safety about three Years, during which time the Tyrant could never get 'em into his Power, till by fair Words, and migh-

*Mauritius and his Children murder'd.*

ty Promiſes he at length entic'd 'em out, and ſhut 'em up into a Monaſtery, where in the end they were all murder'd by *Phocas* his Order, tho' he had given 'em all imaginable Aſſurance of a civil Treatment. *Theodoſius*, the eldeſt Son of *Mauritius*, had been ſent by his Father, at the beginning of his Troubles, into *Perſia*, with earneſt Entreaties to *Choſroes* to take him into his Protection, in return of the like Kindneſs he had formerly receiv'd from him; but *Phocas* his cruel Jealouſie was not confin'd to *Conſtantinople*, and the adjacent Parts, for his bloody Sentence o'ertook him before he could reach the Confines, and murder'd him.

*His Character.* The innumerable Miſeries in which the Empire was ſhortly after involv'd, makes it evident to the World how great a Loſs the Publick had in *Mauritius*, who was enrich'd with a great many Virtues, and ſubject to very few Vices; for he was Valiant, Prudent, Courteous, patient in Adverſity, and in Proſperity moderate; he was eminent for the Purity of his Faith, and his Zeal for the Church, the Peace of which he labour'd with great Care to preſerve and maintain; he was a great Lover of Virtuous and Learned Men, with whom he familiarly convers'd; and it's hard to determine which was moſt conſpicuous to him, his Piety, for which he was exemplary remarkable, or his Felicity, which from a private State advanc'd him to the Imperial Throne, whereon he govern'd with ſo much Succeſs, till his Covetouſneſs deſtroy'd him, the only Vice of note to which he was ſubject, in which he differ'd very much from his Predeceſſor, and which, of all others, is the moſt unworthy a Prince. *Mauritius* was murder'd in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, according to ſome, but according to others, in the twentieth, *Gregory* the Great being then Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 602.

CHAP.

# CHAP. IV.

## *From the Beginning of* Phocas *his Reign, to the Death of* Heraclius.

### *Containing about Thirty Seven Years.*

I. *Mauritius* his untimely Death may ſerve as a Warning to all Princes, how they give way to that ſordid Vice of Covetouſneſs, as being the moſt dangerous and hateful wherewith a Prince can be infected: From hence ſpring Violence, Wrongs, Rapine, Bribery, Extortion, and intolerable Impoſitions; where this reigns, Merit goes unrewarded, Guilt unpuniſh'd, Wars are often begun upon unjuſt Grounds, and Peace concluded upon diſhonourable Condeſcenſions: 'Tis a Vice pernicious in all Degrees of Men, but more eſpecially in Kings, for it often renders their Reigns ſhort and miſerable, and their Deaths ſudden and ignominious; whereas Liberality, that darling Idol of the People, has frequently prolong'd the Reigns even of wicked Princes. Of both theſe, Hiſtory can ſupply us with innumerable Inſtances, and particularly this Emperor *Mauritius* is a convincing Example of the firſt, whoſe Parſimony loſt him both his Empire and Life; and yet ſo prone are the Minds of Men to it, that his immediate Succeſſor, who could not but be convinc'd of the Truth of it, ſplit afterwards upon the ſame Rock, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew hereafter.

*Phocas*, being thus own'd, and Crown'd Emperor in *Conſtantinople*, took Care to have his Election approv'd, and Title acknowledg'd in *Rome*; and accordingly gave Order to have his own Image, as the Cuſtom was, and that of his Wife, to be ſent

thither; where the People, pleas'd with Novelty, and incens'd againſt the late Government, by the violent Courſes of *Mauritius* his Miniſters in *Italy*, receiv'd 'em with joyful Acclamations, and *Gregory* the Pope commanded 'em to be repoſited in the Oratory of St. *Cæſarius*, the Martyr; after which, he writ Letters to *Phocas* full of fulſome Flatteries, unworthy a Perſon of his Character and Function, wherein having decry'd the Precedent Adminiſtration, and exclaim'd againſt *Mauritius*, as a Prince ſordid and tyrannical, he in moſt exalted Terms extols *Phocas* and his Government, and congratulates him for his Advancement to the Throne, which was effected by the peculiar Deſignation of God, to relieve his People out of the Tribulation under which they had a long time groan'd. And certain it is, if Hiſtory had convey'd down to us no other Account of *Phocas*, than what we find in *Gregory*'s Letters, Poſterity muſt have eſteem'd him a very excellent Prince; but it will quickly appear to the Reader how far he fell ſhort of that Character. But the Pope had a farther Deſign in theſe Encomiums; for being at ill Terms with the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, whom *Mauritius* ſtill ſupported with his Authority againſt him, he was in hopes, by this ſervile Compliance, to pre-engage his Succeſſor to his Intereſt. The *Patriarchs* of *Conſtantinople* had for ſome Ages before been diſtinguiſh'd with the Title of Oecumenic, or Biſhops Univerſal, and ſo likewiſe had the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and ſome other Patriarchs: This Title, which in its proper and moſt extenſive Senſe imply'd no more than what the Popes of *Rome* arrogate to themſelves at this Day, was ſo highly diſpleaſing to *Gregory*, that he could not find Terms bad enough to expreſs it in, and was not only for having the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* lay it aſide, but renounc'd it himſelf, as Proud, Prophane and Dia-

Gregory *the Great flatters* Phocas.

Diabolical; on the other hand, the Patriarch, concluding it a thing indifferently to be us'd by him and others of the ſame Dignity, thought he ſhould indeed be guilty of that Novelty, of which the Pope accus'd him, if he ſhould deſignedly quit a Name his Predeceſſors had enjoy'd ſucceſſively for ſo many Years together. Upon this grew a great Diviſion between him and the Pope, who enter'd into the Conteſt, not ſo much out of an Abomination to the Title, as becauſe he had a mind to depreſs the See of *Conſtantinople*, which he found grew more Auguſt every Day, through the Reſidence of the Emperors; whereas, on the contrary, that of *Rome* was much diminiſh'd and impair'd by the continual Wars that deſtroy'd *Italy*, and kept the City almoſt in a perpetual Captivity. He knew that for the moſt part the Prtriarchs of *Conſtantinople* were as ambitious as the Biſhops of *Rome*, and therefore, unleſs prevented, would in time aſſume a Precedency over 'em, amidſt thoſe publick Confuſions with which the Weſt was diſtracted. He had been all along a zealous Aſſerter of the Power and Prerogative of the Popedom, tho' it was not then ſwoln up to that high Pitch, to which it is ſince arriv'd; and conſidering of what Service his Intereſt in *Italy* might be to the Emperor, he thought he might ſo far engage *Mauritius* in the Diſpute, as to gain by the Quarrel; and tho' he ſtrenuouſly inveigh'd againſt the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, which rather than ſhare with a Rival, at that time ſo potent, he was contented to renounce himſelf, yet he ſtill maintain'd with much Heat the Privilege his Predeceſſors had arrogantly uſurp'd, that of being the firſt in Order and Dignity of all the Prelates and Patriarchs throughout the Church of Chriſt. *Mauritius* was ſo far from adhering to him in the Controverſie, that he very zealouſly oppos'd him, as well in that as in

whatever elſe he groundleſly aſſum'd to himſelf and his Succeſſors; for this Reaſon he made his Court with ſo much Application to *Phocas*, who being offended at the unſhaken Conſtancy and Integrity of *Cyriacus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, three Years after declar'd the Pope of *Rome* Univerſal Biſhop, or Head of the Church, a Title fit for a Tyrant to beſtow, and the Pope of *Rome* to embrace. *Cedrenus* obſerves, that *Phocas*, being a wicked Prince, had a Reign ſuitable to his Qualities, full of Misfortunes and Calamities, publick and private; infinite Numbers of Men and Beaſts dy'd after an extraordinary manner; the Earth refus'd her Fruits in Seaſon, and deform'd the Year with a barren Face, ſo that whole Provinces were deſtroy'd with Famine and Peſtilence, whilſt the War on every ſide, like prevailing Flames, broke out upon the Empire. *Narſes*, who had been one of *Mauritinus* his Generals in the Eaſt, revolted upon the Death
A. D. of that Emperor, and ſeizing on the City of *Edeſ-*
603. *ſa*, ſent for Aſſiſtance to *Choſroes*, King of *Perſia*, who with a great Army invaded the Territories of the Empire. *Phocas* hereupon ſent *Germanus* with a good Body of Troops againſt *Narſes*, by whom he was defeated, and ſlain in Battle; nor could *Leontius*, who was ſent to ſucceed him, do much more for his Service, but was ſo often baffled and overthrown by the Courage and Conduct of *Narſes*, that the Tyrant in great Rage recall'd him, and order'd him to be led about in Chains; and *Phocas* finding by Experience, that *Narſes* was by no means to be overpower'd, endeavour'd to effect that by Craft which he could not accompliſh by open Force; and accordingly left no ways unattempted to withdraw *Narſes* from his Confederacy, and never gave over, till by many Oaths and repeated Aſſeverations of Indemnity and Favour, he perſwaded him to deſert the Barbarians, and return

to his Country; but as ſoon as he had him in his Power, without any regard to his former Promiſes and Engagements, he cruelly order'd him to be burnt alive, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the People, who had a high Veneration for the Merits of *Narſes*, and began to repent of their late Change. Theſe Diſcontents at home made the Enemies of the Empire more ſucceſsful abroad, for *Choſroes* ravaged the Upper and Lower *Syria* at diſcretion, meeting with none that were able or willing to oppoſe him; ſo that during the Reign of *Phocas* he took from the Empire all *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Paphlagonia*, whilſt the Tyrant, inſtead of providing for the Security of the State, as he ought, employ'd his Time in Jealouſie and bloody Inquiſitions, or drunken Feſtivals, behaving himſelf ſometimes like a ſenſual Beaſt, at others like a cruel and inexorable Monſter. His Debauchery render'd him deſpicable, and his Cruelty odious; ſo that he led his Life like other Tyrants, under continual Anxieties and doubtful Apprehenſions. In the ſecond Year of his Reign, *Gregory*, Pope of *Rome*, dy'd of the Gout, after having ſate in the Chair thirteen Years and a half. He was undoubtedly a Man of extraordinary Qualifications, for which Reaſon he was ſurnam'd *The Great*, after his Deceaſe. His Enemies muſt allow him to have been in moſt Reſpects a vigilant, active, and tractable Perſon, and one who had a peculiar Care of his Church and Dioceſs. He was devout and ſober, an exact Obſerver of Church Diſcipline, and a great Foe to Simony; ſo that he may juſtly be eſteem'd the greateſt Biſhop of thoſe Times; and it evidently appears, throughout his Writings, in how many Things, relating both to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, his Succeſſors have differ'd from him. He has not without reaſon been call'd *The laſt Biſhop of* Rome, for he

Narſes *burnt alive.*

was the laſt that took Care to acquit himſelf as he ought in his Epiſcopal Charge, by inſpecting into his Church, as well as the growing Corruptions of the Age he lived in would permit him; the reſt that have hitherto ſucceeded him for the moſt part have been ignorant, vitious, intriguing Prelates, who, abandoning the Care of their Flock, have regarded nothing but the Satisfaction of their Avarice, Ambition, and ſenſual Appetites: Upon which account it is no wonder if in the following Ages, Superſtition and mortal Errors infeſted the Church, and God in juſt Indignation ſuffer'd *Mahomet*'s Impiety to gain upon the World, to the great Scandal and Hazard of Chriſtianity, of which the Hiſtories of thoſe Times give us too melancholy Accounts. After the Death of *Gregory*, the Competitors for the Popedom manag'd the Diſpute a long time with great Heats and Animoſities, ſo that a Vacancy enſu'd for almoſt ſix Months; at length *Sabinian*, born at *Volaterra* in *Tuſcany*, was elected by the People, who were made to hope great Things of him, in all which he deceiv'd 'em after his Advancement, grinding the Poor by his exceſſive and unchriſtian Extortions, who therefore wounded him as he appear'd in Publick, of which he dy'd ſix Months after his Election.

A. D. 607. In the mean time *Phocas*, who was diſtracted by as many Fears as he was encumber'd with Vices, thought to ſtrengthen and ſecure his Authority by Alliances with the Nobility, and marry'd his Daughter *Domitia* to *Priſcus*, a Patrician, celebrating the Nuptials with great Solemnity, and diverting the People with publick Shows and Entertainments. But the Maſters of the Sports having expos'd the Images of the Bride and Bridegroom in the publick *Circus*, the People with a general Voice ſaluted them *Auguſti*; whereat the diſtruſtful Tyrant was ſo diſpleas'd, that he commanded both the Maſters

Phocas *his Cruelty.*

Maſters to be immediately beheaded; at the ſame time his Son-in-Law had taſted of his Fury, had not the People interpos'd, and petition'd the Emperor in his behalf: Notwithſtanding which, he look'd upon him with a jealous Eye ever after, of which *Priſcus* was ſenſible, and kept himſelf upon his Guard. *Phocas* his jealous Fears were hardly ſilenc'd, before *Patronia*, who had been plac'd by his Order as a Spy upon *Conſtantina* and her Daughters, inform'd him of a private Correſpondence maintained between that Princeſs and *Germanus*, a Man of great Authority in the former Reign, and what Hopes they conceiv'd that her Son *Theodoſius* was ſtill alive. Upon this the Tyrant commanded *Conſtantina* to be rack'd, who in the Height of her Torments confeſs'd that *Romanus*, a Patrician, who had been formerly Governor of *Rome*, was of the Conſpiracy. He being tortur'd, readily impeach'd ſeveral others, who he knew were inclinable and preparing to dethrone the Tyrant. Hereupon *Conſtantina* and her Daughters were put to Death, as we obſerv'd before, together with *Germanus* and his Sons, *John* and *Ziza*, two Patricians, *Romanus*, and many more. And not contented with theſe Executions, he threw the moſt noble and deſerving of the Citizens, of whom he had the leaſt Suſpicion, into Priſons, which were ſo crouded, that ſeveral of 'em dy'd for want of Room, being ſuffocated with the Noiſomneſs of the Place. However, *Phocas* proceeded ſtill in his exorable Cruelty, and having remov'd all that were ally'd to *Mauritius*, he extended it farther, and ſwept off all that were in the leaſt degree ſuſpicious, or diſtaſteful to him. Being inform'd that his Son-in-Law *Priſcus* was offended at his barbarous Proceedings, he ſent to have him ſeiz'd, but he narrowly eſcap'd the Tyrant's Miniſters, and drew ſeveral among the principal of the Senate over to his Party, who hearing

hearing a Conſpiracy was forming againſt him in *Africk*, ſent over their Deputies to *Heraclius*, Governor of that Province, by whom they deſir'd him to diſpatch with all Expedition, his Son *Heraclius*, and *Nicetas* his Lieutenant, with an Army ſufficient to oppoſe the Tyrant, who, ignorant of theſe Tranſactions, purſuant to his own Maxim, made choice of none but ſuch as were as cruel as himſelf, for his prime Officers, who were the ready Miniſters of his bloody Paſſions. His extream Cruelty ought to have render'd him terrible to Mankind, and yet his ſordid Covetouſneſs and diſſolute way of Life expos'd him to the Contempt of all the World, which in a great meaſure gave Ground to thoſe many Deſigns form'd againſt him, and he ſcarce ever appear'd at the publick *Circus*, but he met with ſome Affront from the People, his own Guards often reviling him for his Drunkenneſs and Luxury; at which he was once ſo incens'd, that he commanded his Officers to ſeize a great Number of them, as well innocent as guilty, ſome of whom he beheaded, others he diſmember'd, and binding 'em up in Sacks, threw 'em into the Sea; notwithſtanding which, the Soldiers aſſembling in a great Body, ſet Fire to the *Prætorium* and the Court, whereat *Phocas* was more terrify'd than enrag'd, and contented himſelf with no other Puniſhment, than caſheering the moſt forward among 'em; for their Peremptorineſs made him apprehend a general Inſurrection, of which growing every Day more and more in fear, he requir'd the Prelates of the Church to agree to a Law, ordaining all thoſe Soldiers to be honour'd as Martyrs, who dy'd courageouſly fighting in the Service and Defence of their Prince, but never could prevail with them to conſent to it.

A. D. 609. Towards the latter end of his Reign, the *Jews*, in hopes of an Impunity, which they thought to pur-

purchaſe with a great Sum of Money, rais'd a moſt horrible Sedition at *Antioch*, in which they maſſacred incredible Numbers of Chriſtians, and among the reſt *Anaſtaſius*, the renown'd Patriarch of the City. They ignominiouſly inſulted his dead Corps, cutting off his Privy Parts, which they thruſt into his Mouth, and then dragg'd him through the publick Streets. *Phocas*, upon the firſt News of this Tumult, order'd *Bonoſus*, his General in the Eaſt, to chaſtiſe 'em; who, arriving at the Head of a good Army before *Antioch*, found 'em ſtill buſied in their bloody Executions, ſo that moſt of 'em were put to the Sword, others diſmember'd, and expell'd the City. *An Inſurrection of the* Jews *at* Antioch.

The ſame Year there happen'd ſo ſharp a Winter, that the Seas were frozen about *Conſtantinople*, and the Tyrant's own Court began at length to grow ſo weary of him, that ſeveral Deſigns were daily ſet on foot to deliver the World from ſo great a Plague. *Theodorus*, Præfect of *Cappadocia*, *Helpidus*, General of the Artillery, and *Anaſtaſius*, the *Comes Largitionum*, had about this time agreed with ſeveral others of great Authority near his Perſon, to kill him as he ſate on his Throne in the *Hippodrome*, and to Proclaim *Theodorus* Emperor. But the thing being diſcover'd by *Anaſtaſius*, all the Conſpirators, both Principal and Accomplices, were put to Death. But, tho' he had eſcap'd this Danger, his Fate began to preſs hard upon him; for he being ſet againſt the World, and the World againſt him, the Controverſie could not be long in Diſpute. Thoſe in *Africk* were now ripe for Action, where *Heraclius*, the Præfect, having rais'd a powerful Army, embark'd it on Board a ſufficient number of Ships, and committed it to the Conduct of his Son. At the ſame time *Nicetas*, the Son of *Gregoras*, *Heraclius* his Lieutenant, march'd with a Land Army by the way of

Heraclius *ſets out againſt* Phocas.

of *Alexandria* and *Pentapolis*. Some ſay there was an Agreement between theſe two Generals and their Friends, that he who firſt had the Fortune to defeat *Phocas*, and ſeize on the City of *Conſtantinople*, ſhould be declar'd Emperor. *Heraclius* ſteer'd on his Courſe to *Abydos*, where he kindly received ſuch Noblemen as had been baniſh'd by the Tyrant, after which he purſu'd his Voyage to *Heraclea*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where, in the Haven of *Sophia*, he engag'd *Phocas*, and defeated him. *Phocas* being overthrown, fled to the Court, where an Officer, call'd *Photinus*, whoſe Wife the Tyrant had formerly raviſh'd, aſſiſted by a Party of Soldiers, pull'd him from his Throne, pluck' the Imperial Robe over his Ears, and cloathing him in a black Veſt, led him bound to *Heraclius*, who ask'd him, with a grave Countenance, *If thus he had govern'd the Commonwealth?* To whom the Tyrant reply'd, *It was his Buſineſs, if he could, to govern it better*; whereupon he commanded, firſt his Hands and Feet, then his Arms and privy Parts, and at laſt his Head to be cut off, and then deliver'd his Trunk up to the Soldiers, who burnt it in the *Forum*. This in general is the Account Authors have left us concerning the Death of *Phocas*, tho' they diſagree a little among themſelves in the Particulars.

*who is ſlain*

*His Character.* As to his Character, they ſay he was of a mean Stature, Deform'd, and of a terrible Aſpect; his Hair was red, and his Beard kept continually ſhav'd; his Eye-brows met, and his Cheek was mark'd with a Scar, which, when he was in a Paſſion, grew of a Colour like that of Lead. He was addicted both to Wine and Women, being a great Drunkard, and a notorious Adulterer; he was by Nature fierce, and in his Actions bloody, bold in Speech, free from all Compaſſion, furious in his Diſpoſition, and in his Principles an Here-

tick, ſo that there was not ſo great a Monſter throughout his Dominions, except his own Wife *Leontia*, who, in all theſe Particulars was as bad as her Husband. *Phocas* was ſlain in the eighth Year of his Reign, *Ann. Dom.* 610.

II. *Heraclius*, having been the Principal Inſtrument in delivering the World from the Tyranny of *Phocas*, was, as a Reward for ſo eminent a Service, with great Joy proclaim'd Emperor, and ſolemnly Crown'd at *Conſtantinople*; his Father, *Priſcus*, and other Great Men, who had been the chief Actors in the late Revolution, aſſiſting at his Inauguration. The ſame Day that he was crown'd himſelf, he ſet the Imperial Crown on the Head of *Fabia*, the Daughter of *Rogatus*, an *African*, to whom he had been formerly contracted, and whoſe Name was now chang'd for that of *Eudocia*. Tho' the whole World, which had groan'd under the Tyranny of his Predeceſſor, thought themſelves extreamly happy in ſo unexpected a Change, yet ſeveral remarkable Misfortunes fell upon the Empire during his Reign. At his firſt Advancement to the Throne, he found the State in a very low Condition: In the Eaſt the ſucceſsful Progreſs of the *Perſians* render'd 'em exceeding formidable; for having this Year travers'd *Syria*, they took *Apamea* and *Edeſſa*, and came as far as *Antioch*, where they were oppos'd by a Party of *Romans*, who were all cut off; at the ſame time the *Scythians* and *Avari* broke into the Territories of the Empire, deſtroying all where ever they paſs'd. Theſe Calamities made the Crown ſit uneaſie upon the Head of *Heraclius*, who was ſcarce warm in his Imperial Robes, before he felt the Cares with which, like *Hercules* his Shirt, they were poiſon'd. However, he induſtriouſly apply'd himſelf to the Adminiſtration, and endeavour'd

HERACLIUS

*The low Eſtate of the Empire at this time.*

vour'd to make good the Expectation the World had conceiv'd of him. He knew he ſhould be unable to oppoſe, as he ought, the Deſigns of his Enemies abroad, whilſt he lay liable to any private Conſpiracies at home; for which Reaſon he put all *Phocas* his Brothers and Relations to Death, and then, by ſeveral Acts of Grace, ſought to endear himſelf to the People: After which, making as good Preparations as the weak Condition of the Empire would permit, he form'd an Army which conſiſted chiefly of new-rais'd Troops, for the old Legions were ſo entirely exhauſted, that of thoſe many thouſands, which had rebell'd againſt *Mau-*
A. D. *ritius*, and advanc'd *Phocas*, there were but two
611. Soldiers remaining upon the Muſter-Rolls, as if they had all fallen by the avenging Hand of Providence, for their Perfidy to that Prince. Over this Army *Criſpus* was declar'd General, and ſent into *Cappadocia*, into which, notwithſtanding the *Perſians* broke the Year following, where having kill'd an infinite number of Men, and laid all the Country waſte before 'em, they ſeiz'd on the City of *Cæſarea*, which they ſack'd, and then return'd back with all the Inhabitants, whom they kept as Slaves, or ſold into Captivity. After this, finding the ſweetneſs of theſe ſucceſsful Expeditions, they hardly ever lay ſtill, but made continual Irruptions into the Territories of the Empire, taking what Cities they pleas'd, amongſt the reſt that of *Damaſcus*, in which they found a very rich Booty, beſides great Numbers of Inhabitants, who ſhar'd the ſame Fate with thoſe that had fallen into their Hands in their former Depredations. *Heraclius*, who was ſenſibly touch'd with the unexpreſſible Miſeries of his Subjects, and ſaw how difficult a thing it was to reſtrain the *Perſians* by force of Arms, in the Condition the Empire then was in, ſent his Ambaſſadors, furniſh'd with very conſi-

derable

derable Preſents, to *Choſroes*, by whom he earneſtly exhorted him to be guided by more moderate Councils, and putting a ſtop to that continu'd Flux of Blood, content himſelf with an annual Tribute. He reminded him of the great Favour and Protection he had receiv'd from *Mauritius*, and bid him propoſe his own Terms, upon which he would condeſcend to a Peace. *Choſroes*, being exalted by his great Succeſs, diſmiſs'd the Ambaſſadors without giving 'em Audience, aiming now at nothing leſs than making himſelf abſolute Maſter of the Empire. Accordingly having rais'd a greater Army than any he ſent before into the Field, he ſeiz'd on the Paſſages of the River *Jordan*, and paſſing that River, he laid all *Paleſtine* waſte, and took the City of *Jeruſalem*. Here the *Perſians* committed ſuch outrageous Acts, as the Horror of them is not to be expreſs'd; they ſold near ninety thouſand Chriſtians to the *Jews*, who did not buy 'em with an Intent to uſe 'em as the univerſal Conſent of Nations requires Captives ſhould be us'd, but inventing unheard of Torments, put 'em to the moſt cruel Deaths. *Zacharias*, the Patriarch, was carry'd away into *Perſia*, and with him vaſt Riches, which they found in the City and Parts adjacent, together with a Piece of Wood, ſaid to be part of the real Croſs on which Chriſt ſuffer'd.

Heraclius *ſends Ambaſſadors to* Choſroes,

*who takes the City of* Jeruſalem

Great Numbers of miſerable Chriſtians fled from the Fury of theſe Inhuman Conquerors, into *Egypt*, ſome leaving their deareſt Friends and Relations, others their Wives and Children, and all of 'em, whatever was neceſſary for the Comfort and Support of Life behind 'em: Whither, notwithſtanding, they were ſhortly after purſu'd by their implacable Enemies, who, not content with their Devaſtations in *Aſia*, roll'd on like an irreſiſtible Stream, and overwhelm'd *Egypt*, pillaging *Alexandria*,

*dria*, the Metropolis of the Country, and at length return'd loaden with the Spoils of *Africk*, leaving a ſufficient Force behind 'em to block up *Carthage*, which they took the Year following. Theſe violent Irruptions of the *Perſians*, in which they ſcatter'd Deſtruction all around, rous'd up the Emperor from his Domeſtick Shows and Triumphs, in which he had been too buſily employ'd for ſome time before, and made him think of ſome Methods to obſtruct or prevent 'em. Knowing the Forces of the Empire, at that time on foot, were unable to
A. D. 618. ſtop their Impetuoſity, he once more ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Choſroes*, who in moſt earneſt Terms, repreſented to him, how highly he was engag'd to the Empire, and entreated him to accept of a Peace, upon whatever Conditions he ſhould think fit himſelf; but the Barbarian grew more Inſolent from his Submiſſion, and, grown intoxicated with his continu'd Succeſs, affronted not only the Emperor and the Empire, but blaſphem'd God himſelf; for he arrogantly reply'd, *That he would give Ear to no Terms of Accommodation, till he had ſolemnly renounc'd his crucify'd Saviour, and publickly ador'd the Sun, the great God of the* Perſians. This barbarous Impiety provok'd the Almighty to raiſe, as from a Lethargy, the incens'd *Heraclius*, who two Years after having made Peace with *Chagan*, King of the *Avari*, he rais'd a very powerful Army, conſiſting not only of his own Subjects, but of *Hunns*, *Avari*, and other *European* Nations. Finding his own Treaſures exhauſted, and how difficult it was to raiſe Money upon thoſe who had been impoveriſh'd by the Wars, he had recourſe to the Clergy, who were more immediately concern'd in this Quarrel, of whom therefore he borrow'd all the Veſſels of Gold and Silver belonging to the Churches of *Conſtantinople*, which he coin'd into Money, wherewith to pay his Soldiers, who

*His Inſolence and Blaſphemy.*

who were marching to fight in defence of their Lives, their Liberties and Religion. This Example was follow'd by the other opulent Churches throughout his Dominions, where the Emperor had his Commissioners appointed to make the Collection

*Heraclius*, before he began his Expedition, appointed his Son *Constantine* Governor of *Constantinople* in his Absence, under the Care and Assistance of *Sergius*, the Patriarch, and *Bonus*, a Patrician, a Man in great Reputation for his Wisdom and Experience. And having, by fresh Letters, adjur'd *Chagan* to be a strict Observer of the Articles between 'em, which heretofore he had treacherously violated, he set forward immediately after *Easter*, Training his Men as he march'd, and Disciplining such as were raw and unexperienc'd. In the mean time the *Persians*, under the Conduct of *Saes*, their General, continu'd their Ravages, piercing into *Galatia*, where they took by Storm the City of *Ancyra*, and wasted the Country without Control, as far as *Chalcedon*, where, hearing *Heraclius* was marching against him, he sent and demanded an Interview, in order, as he pretended, to set on foot a Negotiation for a Peace. The Emperor, well pleas'd with the Proposal, readily consented, and was so ensnar'd by his fair Promises, that, according to his Desire, he sent seventy of his Nobility with him to prepare and agree to the Articles in *Persia*; but the perfidious *Persian*, having gotten those Persons in his Power, threw 'em into Chains, and carry'd 'em bound with him to Court, where they were all cast into Prison, and severely treated by *Chosroes*'s Order, who however pull'd *Saes* his Skin over his Ears, for having once seen *Heraclius*, and not brought him away Prisoner with the rest. After which he sent a General, call'd *Sarbaras*, to command in his stead, who at first did great Mischief in the Provinces; for the *Roman*

*The Treachery of his General;*

*who is justly punish'd by his Master, and dies.*

Soldiers were at Variance among themſelves, which *Heraclius* labour'd earneſtly to compoſe, and then march'd with full Confidence againſt his Enemies, and at length arriv'd on the Confines of *Armenia*; and having defeated a Party of *Perſians*, that pretended to diſpute his Paſſage through the Straits, and Winter drawing on, he retir'd towards *Pontus*, as if he intended there to take up his Winter Quarters; by which means he deceiv'd the *Perſians*, who thought him in earneſt, and broke into their Territories, which he waſted in an hoſtile manner, and drew the main Strength of the Enemies Army out of *Cilicia*, for the Defence of their own Country; who preſſing cloſe upon his Rear, it came by conſent to a pitch'd Battle, wherein the *Perſians* were overthrown, and left the *Romans* Maſters of their Camp and Baggage. This done, *Heraclius* diſpers'd his Forces to Winter in *Armenia*, and he himſelf went to *Conſtantinople*, from whence he found himſelf oblig'd to return, before the Spring was well advanc'd, to oppoſe *Sarmanazar*, who, at the Head of the *Perſians*, waſted the *Roman* Territories as uſually. But before he open'd the Campaign, he once more ſent Letters to *Choſroes*, conjuring him *to incline to a firm and laſting Peace, and releaſe thoſe ſeventy Ambaſſadors which he injuriouſly retain'd, contrary to the Law of Nations.* But *Choſroes* was ſo little concern'd at the Defeat his Army lately receiv'd, that he thought *Heraclius* his Meſſage proceeded from a fearful unactive Temper, and therefore without vouchſafing to return an Anſwer, he order'd his Forces to march into *Aſia Minor*, with Orders to rove about the Country with their accuſtom'd Barbarity. On the other ſide, *Heraclius*, ſeeing all Offers towards a Peace were rejected, mov'd with his Army out of *Armenia*, and arriv'd upon the *Perſian* Frontiers, towards the latter end of *April*, and advancing far into

to the Kingdom, he took ſeveral Towns, and deſtroy'd all the flat Country. Upon this, *Choſroes* commanded his Army to march back with all Expedition, joining to it another Body of equal Forces, under the Conduct of *Sainus*, with Orders to fight the *Romans* where-ever they found 'em. *Heraclius*, notwithſtanding this, purſu'd his March, and having encourag'd his Army, by Arguments drawn from Religious Conſiderations, pierc'd into the Inner *Perſia*, where he took ſeveral Towns and ſtrong Holds, all which he levell'd with the Ground: Hearing the King himſelf lay at *Gazacotis*, in the Province of *Paropamiſus*, with forty thouſand ſtout Men, he reſolv'd to march thither and attack him: Some of his Scouts fell upon *Choſroes*'s advanc'd Guards, part of which they defeated, and the reſt fled in great Conſternation, and acquainted the King with *Heraclius* his Approach. *Choſroes*, who at firſt imagin'd the Emperor would not preſume to pierce ſo far into his Country, but that he ſhould find him Work enough in his own, began now to perceive himſelf miſtaken in his Account, and fled away in great Haſte, burning and deſtroying all the Fruits of the Earth as he paſs'd along. By this means the Emperor enter'd the City without any Trouble, in which was the Temple of the Sun, embeliſh'd with variety of Superſtitions, together with the immenſe Treaſure of *Chryſotidoras*; or, as others will have it, that of *Cræſus*, King of *Lydia*. Here likewiſe he found the Image of *Choſroes* erected in the midſt of a Palace, arch'd like Heaven, enrich'd with the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, before whom he bow'd and worſhip'd. *Heraclius*, having pillag'd the City, and ſecur'd all the Treaſure, burnt the Temple and the Palace, in which were ſeveral other Rarities, at once expreſſing the Skill of the Workman and Vanity of the Prince. After this he purſu'd the

A. D. 623.

Heraclius's *great Succeſs in the* Perſian *Wars.*

King to *Thebatman*, in which City ſome Writers place the Treaſure before mentioned, the Temple, and the Palace; however it be, he took all the Towns in thoſe Parts, and follow'd *Choſroes* as far as the Frontiers of *Media*, raiſing vaſt Contributions in the Country as he march'd along: But the Summer being far ſpent, he thought it time to provide for Winter Quarters; ſo that having ſet apart three Days to return God publick Thanks in the Camp for his glorious Expedition, he retir'd back towards *Albania*. In his Return he was much incommoded by the *Perſians*, who often way-laid him, with a Deſign rather to recover the rich Booty than weaken his Army, but in all thoſe Encounters his Men had the Advantage. The greateſt Inconvenience he labour'd under was the Froſt, which began then to be very ſevere, and with which none were more bitterly pinch'd than his Priſoners, who therefore, to the Number of fifty thouſand, were releas'd without Ranſom by the Emperor's Order, and return'd into their Country highly affected at his generous Clemency, and privately praying for his Succeſs againſt a Tyrant that kept his Country in Slavery.

A. D. 624. The Year following, *Choſroes* by freſh Recruits made good the Loſſes his Armies had receiv'd the preceding Campaign, and delivering the Flower of his Troops to *Sarablaca*, one of the prime Nobility, gave him Orders to fight the Emperor in *Albanea*. *Heraclius*, hearing of his Approach, prepar'd to receive him and bring him to a Battel, before he ſhould be join'd by *Sarbazanes*, who at the Head of another Army, was following with Orders to join him: accordingly he began his March, which was unſeaſonably interrupted by a Mutiny in the Army, proceeding from an Apprehenſion they had of the Difficulty there was in the Enterprize. This Misfortune had almoſt

broken all the Emperor's Meaſures, for whilſt he was endeavouring to appeaſe and pacifie his diſcontented Soldiers, *Sarbarazes* approach'd, and was ready to join *Sarablaca*, which when the *Romans* obſerv'd, they came with Tears in their Eyes and begg'd the Emperor's Pardon, deſiring him to lead 'em againſt *Sarablaca*, before they had two Enemies to contend with at a time. Upon this *Heraclius* endeavour'd to draw *Sarablaca* to fight; but finding nothing would provoke him to a Battel, but that he waited for a Conjunction with *Sarbazanes*, he left both and march'd towards *Choſroes* himſelf. At the ſame time two *Romans* deſerted to the Enemy, and aſſur'd 'em, that *Heraclius* his Motion proceeded from a Fear he had of engaging; which, with the News that *Sain*, another *Perſian* Commander, was at hand, made thoſe two Captains reſolve to engage *Heraclius*, before *Sain* could come up and take the Victory out of their Hands: Whereupon they march'd their whole Army and encamp'd near *Heraclius*, who perceiving they prepar'd to fight the next Morning, remov'd farther in the Night, 'till he came to a piece of Ground more convenient for him to engage in, where he reſted and refreſh'd his Troops. The *Perſians*, truſting to the Story of the Fugitives, interpreted this is a Flight, and fell with ſo diſorderly a Fury upon him, that he eaſily defeated 'em, killing great Numbers, and among the reſt *Sarablaca*, one of their Generals.

Tho' the Loſs on the ſide of the *Perſians* was very conſiderable, yet being join'd by *Sain* and his Squadrons, they prepar'd for another Battel, and follow'd the *Romans* thro' difficult and almoſt unpaſſable Ways, into the Territories of the *Huns*. The *Roman* Army in general was under no ſmall Conſternation, but eſpecially the *Lazians*, and ſome other of their Auxiliaries, quitted the Service and return'd home. Notwithſtanding which, the Em-

peror by very powerful and ſeaſonable Arguments ſo encourag'd his Soldiers, that they deſired him, with great Alacrity, to lead 'em on againſt the Enemy; upon which he immediately preſented 'em with Battle. Both Armies ſtood in view of each other from Morning 'till Night, without one Blow on either ſide; after which *Heraclius* march'd, in the ſilence of the Night, towards *Perſia*; which when the Enemies obſerv'd, they endeavour'd to get a Head of him, and intercept him, by marching through more compendious Ways; whereby they entangled themſelves in the Woods and Marſhes, and gave him time to gain Ground. The *Perſians*, imagining ſtill that he was flying from 'em, purſu'd with ſo much Inadvertency, that *Heraclius*, ſpying his Advantage, turn'd about and entirely defeated 'em. After this he took their Camp, their Arms, and their Baggage, part of which was of ineſtimable Value, together with a great Number of Priſoners, both Men and Women. As a Conſequence of this Victory, he ſoon became Maſter of the whole Country, where he diſpers'd his Army into Winter Quarters, reſolving early in the Spring to purſue his Conqueſts; and accordingly began his March by Mount *Taurus* into *Syria*, and with much Labour and great Difficulty came at length to the River *Tygris*, and from thence to the Cities of *Martyropolis* and *Amida*, where he refreſhed his Troops, and by Letters inform'd the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* of his glorious ſucceſs, which created an incredible Joy throughout the City. After this he commanded the Horſe to ford the River *Euphrates*, whilſt he built a Bridge for the Foot, and ſo paſs'd his whole Army over, to the great Amazement of his Enemies. Shortly after, the City of *Samatoſa* ſurrender'd to him, where having reſted for ſome time, he built a Bridge over the River *Saras*, and ſecur'd it with ſeveral ſtrong Forts. In the mean

mean time *Sarabazas* the *Perſian* purſuing him, encamp'd on the other Side the River, on a Piece of Ground that faced the Bridge, and ſeveral *Roman* Soldiers, being puff'd up with their late Victories, preſum'd to venture over the Bridge in a tumultuous manner to attack the Enemy, and that contrary to the expreſs Order of the Emperor: At firſt the *Perſians* pretended to be overthrown, and counterfeited a Flight, till having betray'd the *Romans* into their Ambuſhes, they fac'd about, and had cut 'em all off, if the Emperor had not mov'd ſpeedily to their Reſcue; but upon his Approach the Enemy were ſo hardly preſs'd upon, that few of thoſe who had purſu'd the *Romans* over the Bridge, eſcaped. The Emperor, in this Action, gave great Proofs of his Valour and Conduct, which made him admir'd and rever'd by his very Enemies, who under the Covert of the Night thought beſt to retire. After this unexpected Victory, the Emperor led his Army to *Sebaſtia*, in which Town, and the Parts adjacent, they winter'd.

*Choſroes* hearing how often and how ſhamefully his Troops had been defeated by the *Romans*, who in the Days of his Predeceſſors, commonly fled before the prevailing *Perſians*, grew more enrag'd from his Diſgrace, and having ſeiz'd on the Wealth of all the Churches within his Dominions, he compell'd the Chriſtians that were his Subjects to embrace the *Hereſie* of *Neſtorius*, thinking by that means to vex and affront *Heraclius*; at the ſame time he prepar'd to take the Field the next Spring with a mighty Army, drawn out of all Nations who were willing to ſerve him for Pay, or out of a proſpect of Plunder. His chief Deſign was to remove the War into the Territories of the Empire, and ſo compel *Heraclius* to return home; to which purpoſe he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the *Avari*, the *Hunns* and *Sclavonians*, charg'd with great

Choſroes *his Cruelty againſt the Chriſtians.*

Sums of Gold, and Promiſes of more, on condition they would aſſociate themſelves in the War with him, and falling into the *Roman* Territories from their Quarters, lay Siege to the City of *Conſtantinople*. *Chagan*, King of the *Avari*, had from the beginning been a troubleſome Neighbour to *Heraclius*, treacherous in Peace, and unmerciful in War; He had often invaded *Thrace*, where, tho' ſometimes he met with a Repulſe, yet he generally left bloody Marks of his Cruelty behind him, and frequently proceeded ſo far in his Incurſions, that he threw *Conſtantinople* it ſelf into the greateſt Conſternation. Whilſt *Heraclius* was thus aſſaulted by him on the one ſide, and inſulted by the *Perſians* on the other, he was able to make Head againſt neither, and therefore often ſu'd for Peace from both, to which *Choſroes* his violent Temper would not let him condeſcend; but *Chagan* was more complaiſant, but no leſs dangerous, for he never made a Peace but with an Intent to break it, and had once ſo far deluded the Emperor by his fair Promiſes, that he very narrowly eſcap'd his Hands, being glad to ſave himſelf with the Loſs of his Baggage. Notwithſtanding this, when *Heraclius* apply'd himſelf vigorouſly to the *Perſian* War, he once more renew'd the Negotiations, and at length a Peace was concluded between 'em, *Chagan* appearing outwardly ſo ſincere, that *Heraclius*, in a manner committed his Son and the Capital of his Empire into his Protection. And yet after all theſe Engagements, and the Emperor's Reliance upon his Honour, he readily comply'd with the King of *Perſia*'s Propoſals, and appear'd the moſt vigorous of any in his Service; ſo vain a thing is it to depend upon the Oaths and Engagements of mercenary Princes, who deſire to be Rich rather than Juſt, and are more ambitious of being Great than Honourable.

The

A. D. 626.

The Emperor was not ignorant of all these Negotiations, but made timely Preparations to encounter the Storm which he saw threaten'd him. He divided his Forces into three Armies, one of which was appointed for the Defence of *Constantinople*, the second was committed to the Conduct of *Theodorus*, his Brother, and with the third he himself advanced into the Province of the *Lazians*, where by powerful Presents he gain'd the Eastern *Turks*, otherwise call'd *Chazari*, to re-inforce his Army with their Auxiliary Troops. These People, under the Conduct of *Ziebil*, to the number of forty thousand, broke through the *Caspian* Gates into *Persia*, ruining the Country, and destroying the Inhabitants as they pass'd along: As they were proceeding on in this hostile manner *Heraclius* met 'em in his March from *Lazica*; they approach'd him with the Reverence that was due to his Person and Character, and an Alliance was concluded between 'em upon such Terms as were approved of by their Captain, who, highly satisfy'd with the Conditions *Heraclius* offer'd, return'd home himself, and left his Son to command the Forces in his Absence, and to attend upon the Person of the Emperor; who being now strengthen'd with so seasonable an Addition, enter'd *Persia* in the Winter Season, to *Chosroes* his great Terror and Amazement. At first the *Turks* did *Heraclius* great Service, but growing at length dishearten'd by the sharpness of the Weather, and frighten'd by the frequent Incursions of the *Persians*, they by degrees all left him and return'd home: Notwithstanding which, he made use of several Religious Arguments to encourage his Men, who chearfully desir'd him to lead 'em where-ever he pleas'd.

Heraclius *hires the* Turks *into his Service.*

*Chosroes* by this time had receiv'd a melancholy Account of the Summer Service: *Sarbarazes*, at the Head of a numerous Army, had advanc'd as far

far as *Chalcedon*, before which he ſate down, and from thence ſtraiten'd the City of *Conſtantinople*, whilſt the *Avari* flocking in great Numbers out of *Thrace*, beſieg'd it both by Sea and Land, and for ten Days together renew'd their Attacks with great Reſolution; but having loſt the beſt of their Men in the Service, they were conſtrain'd to raiſe the Siege, and retire with Diſhonour. *Baronius*, upon the Authority of *Cedrenus*, gives us a miraculous Account of the raiſing of that Siege. He ſaith, the Beſiegers beheld a Lady attended with a Train of Eunuchs iſſuing out at one of the Gates, and that concluding her, by her Port and Majeſty, to be the Empreſs *Eudocia* coming in the Abſence of her Husband to Treat of Peace with their General, they made way for her, ſuffering none in the Camp to follow after her: But when they obſerv'd ſhe had paſs'd the Trenches, and without going near the General's Tent, they then purſu'd her, and had almoſt overtaken her, when ſhe ſuddenly diſappear'd. Upon which the Purſuers, like Men infatuated, quarrel'd with one another, and from Words proceeding to Blows, great Numbers of 'em fell, till Night came and put an end to the Diſpute. The next Morning when the Captain was inform'd of the great Slaughter that had been made, and how many Men he had loſt, he rais'd the Siege, and made a diſhonourable Retreat. At the ſame time the Fleet withdrew, and was overtaken with a Tempeſt in the *Euxine* Sea, where moſt of the Ships periſh'd.

Conſtantinople *Beſieg'd by the* Avari.

*The Siege rais'd by a Miracle.*

Another part of the *Perſian* Forces, and the very Flower of their Army, call'd therefore *The Golden Company*, and committed to the Conduct of *Sain*, or *Sais*, was defeated by *Theodorus*, who obtain'd an abſolute Victory with Loſs of very few on his Side. This Misfortune expos'd *Sais* ſo much to *Choſroes*'s Indignation, that through Grief he

he dy'd, with which the Tyrant was ſo little ſatisfy'd, that he committed ſeveral Indignities upon the dead Body.

Theſe Loſſes, and the Progreſs of *Heraclius*, who continu'd in Arms even in the Winter Seaſon, ſo amaz'd *Choſroes*, that he knew not what Meaſures to take. All the Forces he could raiſe were committed to the Care of *Razaſtes*, a Man of great Valour and Quality, who, preſuming upon the Strength of his Arms, and late Diminution of the *Roman* Forces, thought to end the War at once in the Death of *Heraclius*, who, purſuing his Fortune, encamp'd on the 1ſt of *December* upon the River *Zabes*, near *Ninive*, whither *Razaſtes* immediately followed him. At firſt ſeveral Actions paſs'd between the Parties ſent out on both ſides, in which the *Romans* for the moſt part had the Advantage. *Heraclius* was informed by ſome Priſoners, that *Razaſtes* waited only for the Arrival of three thouſand freſh Men, who had Orders from *Choſroes* to join him, and then was reſolved to fight; whereupon the Emperor was deſirous to engage him before thoſe Succours could come up. He never behav'd himſelf with more Gallantry in any Action than in this, for he kill'd three of the *Perſian* Officers with his own Hand, and had his Horſe wounded under him. After an obſtinate Diſpute on both Sides, the *Perſians* loſt the Day, together with their General, and moſt of their Field Officers. The *Romans*, on their ſide, loſt no more than fifty Men, and had about as many wounded. The Body of *Razaſtes* was found in the Field of Battel, with a Shield and Armour all of Maſſie Gold.

*The* Perſians *defeated by* Heraclius.

*Heraclius* ſuffered not his Men to grow cool, nor *Choſroes* to recover himſelf out of his Aſtoniſhment, before he mov'd forwards againſt him, and haunted him from one of his Palaces to another,

ther, 'till he forc'd him to fly at length to *Seleucia*, a ſtrong City built upon the *Tigris*, where he lock'd up himſelf, his Wives and Children, with his moſt precious Moveables. At *Jeſdemon*, one of the King's Houſes of Pleaſure, *Heraclius* kept his *Chriſtmas*; at another, called *Dyſtagerta*, he found the Standards, which at ſeveral times had been taken from the *Romans*, with abundance of Spices, Hangings richly wrought, and much Silk, whereof, as much as could not be conveniently brought away, he burnt, as he did all his Houſes of Pleaſure, to make *Choſroes* feel in ſome meaſure, as he ſaid, what Miſchief he did when he deſtroy'd the *Roman* Cities. After this he releas'd ſeveral Captives that had been taken at *Edeſſa* and *Alexandria*, and diſtributed his Forces into Winter Quarters, prepar'd either to renew the War in the Spring, or conclude a Peace, if yet *Choſroes* his continu'd Misfortunes had inclin'd him to liſten to it; but the Hand of God being againſt him for his abominable Impiety, and monſtrous Barbarity, he was deaf to all thoſe Counſels that tended to his Safety, and haſten'd on his Ruin.

All this while *Sarbarazes* lay before *Chalcedon*, without being able to do any conſiderable Service againſt the *Romans*; upon which ſome, who were near the King, perſuaded him that he held Intelligence with the Enemy, and deſign'd to betray the Army up to 'em; whereupon *Choſroes*, who was now grown jealous, as well as revengeful, ſent Orders to *Chardarigas*, another Commander in the Army, to kill the General, and return with the Forces into *Perſia*. Theſe Letters were intercepted by ſome *Romans* on the Borders of *Galatia*, and carried to the Emperor's Son at *Conſtantinople*, who ſent it to *Sarbarazes*, and he ſhow'd it to the chief Officers of the Army, whom he perſuaded to throw off their Allegiance to *Choſroes*, and deprive him of

of the Crown, of which he was ſo unworthy. About the ſame time *Choſroes* had rejected new Propoſals of Peace ſent him by *Heraclius*, which encreas'd his Subjects Averſion to him, and prepar'd 'em for any Innovation. But whilſt *Choſroes* lay, as he thought ſecurely, in the Caſtle of *Seleucia*, he was ſeiz'd by a Dyſentery, which reduc'd him to the laſt extremity. Upon this Occaſion he thought to provide his Subjects with a Succeſſor, and accordingly prepar'd to Crown his youngeſt Son *Mardeſanes*, whom he had by *Syra*, the moſt belov'd of all his Wives. Of this when *Syroes* the eldeſt was adverti's'd, he appeal'd to the Grandees of the Realm, the moſt conſiderable of whom declar'd in his behalf. Upon this Encouragement *Syroes* wrote to *Heraclius*, by whoſe Advice he ſet all the *Roman* Priſoners at Liberty; after which he ſeiz'd on his Father, and, having bound him in Chains, caſt him into a Dungeon, which *Choſroes* had lately fortified for the Security of his Treaſure. Here he was fed with nothing but Bread and Water, his Son declaring *he might feed on that Gold, for the ſake of which he had made ſo many innocent People periſh with Hunger*; at the ſame time he ſent ſeveral of the Nobles to inſult him, to ſpit in his Face, and load him with Injuries more ignominious than the Chains he wore. After this he commanded *Mardaſanes* and the reſt of his Sons to be murder'd in his Sight, and then ſhot him to Death.

Choſroes *murder'd by his own Son.*

This was the deſerv'd End of *Choſroes* the Second, a Proud, Cruel and Blaſphemous Prince, after a long Reign of thirty five Years; during which time he took from *Heraclius* all that was left to the Empire of *Meſopotamia*, all *Syria*, and the Holy Land, with the City of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, moſt of which he loſt back again to the Emperor before his Death. *Syroes*, having thus accompliſh'd his

his Designs, gave the Emperor an Account of what had been done, and made a perpetual Peace with him, and that upon Conditions very advantageous to the Empire. For by vertue of this Peace, all the *Roman* Provinces, that had been lately seiz'd by the *Persians*, were restor'd, together with three hundred Ensigns, and whatever else had been taken from the *Romans*, among the rest that Piece of Wood which was suppos'd to have been part of the Cross, and which *Chosroes* had taken from *Jerusalem*, and brought in Triumph into *Persia*. All things being thus concerted, and agreed on both Sides, the Emperor prepar'd to return to *Constantinople*, giving Order in his Passage for the Settlement of Affairs in *Armenia*, and the other Provinces of the Empire. When he was arriv'd near to *Constantinople*, his Son *Constantius*, the Patriarch, and the People, came forth to meet him with Songs of Triumph, and loud Acclamations. His Entry into the City was great and magnificent, and indeed he deserv'd a Reception equal to the greatest Captains, having, in the space of six Years, recover'd to the Empire all the Eastern Provinces which had been taken from it by the *Persians*, punish'd that perfidious Nation for the many Indignities offer'd to the *Roman* Name, restor'd the distress'd People to their ancient Liberties, forc'd *Chosroes* ignominiously to fly, and in a great measure broke a State, which for several Years had been the most potent and formidable of all others; for the *Persians* never after attempted any Noble Enterprize, but sunk under the Subjection of the *Saracens*. All this was effected by *Heraclius*, at a time when the Empire was in a very low and helpless Condition; the Treasure was exhausted, the Militia decay'd, and the State threaten'd by the Barbarians on every side. So that had *Heraclius* dy'd here, or proceeded on in the same Tracts of

*A Peace with the* Persians.

Heraclius *his great Exploits.*

of Honour, he might have challeng'd a Place among the moſt renown'd Princes that ſhine in Hiſtory. But from the remaining part of his Reign we ſhall find he was more, by Nature, adapted to the Hurry and Buſineſs of War than the ſoft Retirements of Peace, and that nothing corrupts the Mind of Man ſooner than Idleneſs and Inactivity. From a Soldier he grew a Diſputant, and from a General in the Field, the Head of a Party in the Church, not only to the great Detriment of Chriſtianity, but to the utter Ruin of the State, as we may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter.

The Emperor having repos'd himſelf at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſpent the Winter, ſet out about the middle of *March* for *Jeruſalem*, carrying thither the Piece of the Croſs, which had been taken from thence about fourteen Years before, together with *Zacharie* the Patriarch, who had been led into Captivity with it. Being arriv'd in the City, he enter'd in great Pomp into the chief Church, with the Croſs in his Hand, and there, in a ſolemn manner, return'd God Thanks for the great Victories he had obtain'd, and for that it had pleas'd his infinite Wiſdom to make Choice of him to bring back the Croſs to the Holy City. Upon this Occaſion was inſtituted the Feſtival of the *Exaltation of the Holy Croſs*, which is obſerv'd yearly by the Church of *Rome*, on the fourteenth of *September*. When this Ceremony was perform'd, the Emperor baniſh'd all the *Jews* out of *Jeruſalem*, forbidding 'em, under ſevere Penalties, to approach within three Miles of the Place. A. D. 629. *He takes a Progreſs to* Jeruſalem.

From *Jeruſalem*, *Heraclius* went into *Syria*, and ſpent ſome time at *Edeſſa*, where he receiv'd Ambaſſadors from the two extream Parts of the Continent, from *France* and the *Indies*, the Kings of which, ſent their Ambaſſadors with rich Preſents, to congratulate his Glorious Succeſs, and deſire

to

to join in Confederacy with him. He expell'd all the *Neſtorians* out of the City, who had been harbour'd a long time in it, and gave their Churches to the Catholicks. Here he found *Anaſtaſius*, a Man of great Learning and Addreſs, but an *Eutychian*; however he inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the Emperor's good Opinion, that he promis'd to make him Patriarch of *Antioch*, upon Condition he renounc'd his Hereſie, and ſubſcrib'd to the Council of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor having made good his Promiſe, he openly renounc'd his Errors, but ſtill retain'd 'em in his Heart, and the better to cover his Hypocriſie, ſtarted a Queſtion to *Heraclius*, *If it was lawful to affirm there were two Wills in Jeſus Chriſt, or no more than one Will?* Maintaining the latter by very plauſible Arguments. To which when the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Conſtantinople*, who were infected with the ſame Diſtemper, had readily ſubſcrib'd, the Emperor, who had more of Curioſity than Learning, was prevail'd upon to eſpouſe the ſame Opinion, which created a dangerous Schiſm in the Church, and gave a beginning to the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, who tho' they did not openly declare for *Eutyches*, yet they preſs'd very cloſe upon his Heels. In what Points they, the *Eutychians* and *Jacobites* concurr'd and diſagreed, and in what Numbers the latter prevail ſtill in the Eaſt, as it is not the Buſineſs of this Hiſtory to examine, ſo the Reader will find it already done to his Hands in ſeveral Authors, who have written upon that Subject.

*He turns Monothelite.*

This Hereſie prov'd not more prejudicial to the Church, than fatal to the State; for whilſt the Emperor buſied himſelf with Opinions and Speculations, that were no way proper for him, the abſurd and impious Doctrine of *Mahomet* was ſuffer'd to ſpread abroad in the World, which *Heraclius* might have cruſh'd, like a Cockatrice in the Egg,

*The Riſe of Mahometaniſm.*

Egg, before it had taken ſo deep a Root, and rais'd its execrable Head to ſuch a prodigious height, as to prove the greateſt Plague that ever happen'd to Chriſtendom; which may teach us to be cautious how we enquire too buſily into thoſe Points of Religion, which ſerve rather as a Subject for our Diſputes, than a Motive to a truly Chriſtian Life.

As *Mahomet* recommended his Doctrine by indulging his Proſelytes in their ſenſual Deſires, ſo he took Care to plant and propagate it by the Power of the Sword, promiſing peculiar Recompences in his imaginary Paradiſe to thoſe who appear'd the valiant Aſſertors of it; upon which account it gain'd incredible Ground in a ſhort time. He firſt ſpread it in his Native Country, which was *Arabia the Happy*, where the People, for the generality, were bury'd in a profound Ignorance, and divided into twelve Sorts or Sects of Religion, and all of 'em Pagan and Idolatrous. When he found his Doctrine almoſt univerſally receiv'd there, he plac'd himſelf at the Head of a Company of Thieves and Fugitive Slaves, who fled from all Parts to him, allur'd by a Promiſe he had given of protecting 'em, and by a Law he had taught and publiſh'd, that *it was the Will and Command of God that all Men ſhould be free.* By the help of theſe Proſelytes he aſſum'd a Sovereign Power, and ſo by a noble Uſurpation, declar'd himſelf both King and Prophet of the *Saracens.* His Succeſſors prov'd the moſt fatal Enemies the Empire ever had, diſmembring it of whole Provinces at once, and at length leading the Imperial City herſelf into Captivity. Having overcome the *Perſians* in the Year 632, under the Conduct of *Othman*, or *Oſman*, and ſlain *Hormiſda* the Second, the laſt *Perſian* King, of the Race of *Artaxerxes*, they ſeiz'd on the Kingdom, and bury'd the Renown of that Nation in Captivity.

Perſia *conquer'd by the* Saracens.

vity. The *Saracens*, seeing themselves Masters of
A. D. that Country, made their Incursions into *Palestine*,
633. the Governour of which they kill'd, and seiz'd on *Gaza* with all the adjacent Country. About this time a Comet was seen in those Parts, form'd into the shape of a Sword, which was look'd on as a fatal Forerunner of the Wars which were to ensue. The Year following they laid Siege to *Bosra*, the Capital City of *Arabia*, which in the end they took, and so made themselves Masters of all that Country; and improving their Conquests, march'd from thence into *Syria*, where *Theodorus*, the Emperor's Brother, prepar'd to oppose 'em, but was defeated, and forc'd to fly in great Disorder to *Heraclius*, lying then at *Edessa*. *Heraclius* considering the ill success of his Arms, and fearing the Issue of the War, quitted *Syria* and went to *Jerusalem*, from whence he remov'd the Cross, with whatever else there was of Value in the City, to *Constantinople*. In the mean time he order'd *Bohames*, whom he had made General of his Armies, to join *Theodorus*, his Chancellor, who lay with forty thousand Men at *Emessa*. Upon these the Infidels fell in such great Numbers, that they entirely routed 'em, Heaven it self seeming to espouse their Cause; for a strong North Wind arose full in the Face of the Christians, and drove the Dust with so much Violence into their Eyes, that they were forc'd to retire, and were most of 'em lost in a River, which in that Confusion they attempted to pass. *Damascus* immediately fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, as the Fruit of this Victory, from whence they advanc'd into *Phœnicia*, which they seiz'd, and planted with a Colony of their own. They were so far from ruining *Damascus*, or suffering it to be pillag'd, that they permitted most of the Inhabitants, especially the Christians, to continue in it, where they were indulg'd with the free Exercise of

*who defeat the Romans,*

their Religion; for *Aumar*, the Prince or Caliph of the *Saracens*, built a magnificent Temple in *Damaſcus*, which he appropriated to the peculiar Uſe of the Chriſtians.

After this he divided his Army, which was grown very numerous, into two Parts; one of which he ſent into *Egypt*, and with the other went in Perſon to beſiege *Jeruſalem*. The *Egyptians*, being ſenſible that they were unable to reſiſt the Forces that were moving againſt them, and conceiving the Deſign of the *Saracens* was rather to plunder than conquer, employ'd *Cyrus* the Patriarch to treat with them, who paid 'em down a large Sum of Gold in Hand, and agreed upon an annual Penſion of two hundred thouſand Crowns, upon Conſideration they ſpar'd the Country. This Bargain was punctually obſerv'd for three Years together, during which time the Infidels attempted nothing againſt *Egypt*. In the mean time the Patriarch was accus'd at *Conſtantinople* for having brib'd the Barbarians with the Gold of *Egypt*, and the Emperor was perſwaded to renounce the Agreement; whereupon he ſent one *Manuel*, an *Armenian*, Præfect into *Egypt*, where being ſupported by an Army, he took the Government of the Country upon him in the Emperor's Name; and when the Commiſſioners for the *Saracens* came at the Year's End to demand the Sum the Inhabitants had oblig'd themſelves to pay, *Manuel* receiv'd 'em with much Diſdain, and told 'em, *He was not a preaching Prieſt whom they had terrify'd into ignominious Conditions, but a* Roman *General at the Head of an Army*. Upon this the *Saracens* enter'd *Egypt* with a very powerful Army, and having forc'd *Manuel* to ſave himſelf in *Alexandria*, they ſeiz'd on the Country, and made it tributary to their Caliph. *Heraclius* finding too late the ill Meaſures he had taken, ſent *Cyrus* once more to the Infidels, who offer'd, in the

*and conquer* Egypt.

Emperor's Name, that for the time to come, the Articles ſhould be religiouſly obſerv'd, provided they would forego their Conqueſt, and quit the Country: This the *Saracens* abſolutely refus'd; ſo that *Egypt*, which had continued a conſiderable Member of the Empire ever ſince the Days of *Auguſtus*, was torn from it by the Hands of Infidels, who took care to plant their damnable Errors where-ever they extended their Arms.

Whilſt *Aumar*'s Captains were thus employ'd in *Egypt*, he was buſied in the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, whither he had march'd without receiving any Oppoſition; for the Emperor had not Forces ſufficient in thoſe Parts to make Head againſt him. Indeed it's a Subject of great Wonder, that he, who not many Years before had carry'd the *Roman* Eagle as far almoſt as any of his Predeceſſors, and by the Force of his Arms humbled a State which formerly made the Empire tremble, ſhould not be able now to ſtop the Progreſs of an upſtart Nation, hardly ever remember'd before for any notable Atchievements, but look'd on with a Contempt ſuitable to their Original. But we are to conſider that *Heraclius* himſelf was buſied in unſeaſonable Diſputes about Religion, with which God was ſo juſtly offended, as to ſuffer the Empire in general to lye bury'd in a ſupine Security, regardleſs of the Dangers with which it was threaten'd. After a Concluſion of the *Perſian* War, ſeveral of the moſt deſerving Officers had been diſmiſs'd unkindly, nor was any Care taken to reconcile 'em to the Court, with which they were upon good grounds offended. The time the Emperor could ſpare from his religious War was employ'd in publick Feſtivals and Entertainments, with which the People were ſo diverted at *Conſtantinople*, that they had not leiſure, or were unwilling to think of the Condition of the Provinces; ſo that it was no difficult thing, in ſuch a Con-

Conjuncture, for *Mahomet* to enforce his Abſurdities upon the World by the Terror of his Arms, which were ſo wonderfully propagated by his Succeſſors.

*Jeruſalem* held out againſt *Aumar* for two Years together, but ſurrender'd at laſt, upon Condition the Inhabitants might continue in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Liberties and Eſtates, and the free exerciſe of their Religion; to this *Aumar* readily conſented, and as faithfully obſerv'd. From *Jeruſalem* he march'd with his Forces againſt *Antioch*, the Capital of all the Eaſt, which was unfurniſh'd with Men, or any Proviſions fit to maintain a Siege, and was therefore forc'd to ſurrender, and receive a Garriſon of *Saracens:* So that they were now abſolute in *Syria* and the *Holy-Land*, and were Maſters in *Perſia*, in *Meſopotamia* and *Egypt*, and had got firm Footing in *Africk*. So prodigious was the encreaſe of Mahometiſm, and ſo ſuddenly did the Misfortunes of the Empire preſs her down. A. D. 637. *They take Jeruſalem.*

This in Subſtance is the Account of thoſe Wars, and the Beginning of the *Saracenical* Empire, left us by the *Grecian* Writers of that Age, who are juſtly to be accus'd for their Succinctneſs and Obſcurity in a Subject that deſerv'd to have been more copiouſly handled; for undoubtedly it muſt needs have been various as well as ſurprizing in its Circumſtances, containing no leſs than the ſubduing whole Nations, altering ancient Governments, and introducing a new face of Affairs in the World.

*Paulus Diaconus* is more particular in his Account of *Italy*, eſpecially ſo far as the Affairs thereof relate to his Countrymen, the *Lombards*, who ſeem'd by a particular Favour of Fortune to have continu'd for the moſt part in Peace with the *Romans*, whilſt the whole ſtrength of the Empire was employ'd elſewhere; notwithſtanding which, the Emperor was not free from his Cares in thoſe Parts; for *John*, the Exarch of *Ravenna*, being kill'd by

the Multitude in that City, and *Confinius*, Duke of *Naples*, having, contrary to his Faith given to *Heraclius*, ſeiz'd on that City, and maintain'd it with a ſtrong Garriſon againſt him, *Eleutherius*, a Patrician, and Chamberlain of the Houſhold, was ſent into *Italy*; where at firſt he made good the Opinion the World had conceiv'd of him for his great Wiſdom and Virtue: For immediately upon his Arrival at *Ravenna*, he made a diligent Inquiſition after the Death of *John*, and puniſh'd thoſe that were found guilty of the Murder; after which ſeaſonable piece of Juſtice, he went to *Naples*, which he took, and put *Confinius* to Death. This Succeſs in the beginning of his Adminiſtration made him unhappily forget that Virtue and Moderation which till then had appear'd ſo eminent in him, and betray'd him to thoſe Vices he had always condemn'd, and lately puniſh'd in other Men. The great Authority he had in thoſe Parts, the Diſtance between that and the Emperor, together with the Wars in the Eaſt, preſented him, as he thought, with a fair Opportunity of ſetting up for himſelf, and he propos'd nothing leſs than the Sovereignty of all *Italy*: This he knew was not to be obtain'd without a firm Intereſt in the Army; upon which Conſideration, he took care to pay the Soldiers all their Arrears, and courted 'em by ſeveral other popular Acts and Condeſcenſions. By that time he conceiv'd he had moulded the Army to his Will, he receiv'd new Encouragement by the Death of *Deuſdedit*, Pope of *Rome*; for he thought whilſt the People were buſied in the Election of a Succeſſor, he might eaſily ſeize upon that City, which would be a good Step to the Royalty, and having an Influence upon the Election, he might make the ſucceeding Pope his Friend; whereupon having ſettled, as he thought, all things in good Order at *Ravenna*, he march'd at the Head of his Army towards *Rome*,

*Eleutherius aiming to make himſelf King in* Italy.

*Rome*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of it, but was inform'd in his March, that *Bonniface* the Fifth was promoted to the Apoſtolick Chair, which threw him into a Suſpence, and forc'd him to alter his Meaſures; for having commanded the Army to halt, he careſs'd 'em in a very plauſible Speech, in which he inveigh'd againſt the Diſtempers of the Times, and made 'em large Promiſes of his Favour, Protection and Reformation; after which he aſſum'd the Title of King, the Soldiers rather permitting than conſenting to it. For proceeding on towards *Rome*, where he intended to be inveſted with the Enſigns of Majeſty, the Army conſider'd better of the Matter by that time they came as far as *Luceoli*, and deteſting the Treachery, they ſlew the Traitor, and ſent his Head to the Emperor; who diſpatch'd *Iſaacius*, a Patrician, into *Italy*, to command as Exarch in his room. *Iſaacius* met with little Diſturbance in his Government for a long time, the *Lombards* being too much at variance among themſelves to attempt any thing againſt the Empire, 'till *Rotharis* was elected King of that Nation upon the Death of *Ariold* his Succeſſor. He, being a buſie, active Prince, and zealous for the Honour of his Nation, whoſe Dominions he was ambitious of extending, broke the Peace which his Predeceſſors had made with the *Romans*, and took by Force the Cities of *Oderzo* and *Treviſo*, with all the Territories dependant on them. The Exarch, being ſurpriz'd at this ſudden and unexpected Rupture, broke with all Violence into the Dominions of the *Lombards*, but was at length met by *Rotharis*, who fought him, and kill'd eight thouſand of the *Romans*, which prov'd a Defeat of ſuch Conſequence, that from that Time forward, 'till the Reign of *Luitprand*, no Acts of Hoſtility paſs'd betwixt the Exarchs and the *Lombards*, who were ſatisfied for the preſent with their new

*is ſlain by the Soldiers.*

A. D. 638.

*Eight thouſand Romans ſlain by the Lombards.*

Conqueſts, and the Exarch was content to enjoy unmoleſted the Territories that remain'd under the Dominion of the Empire.

All this while the Errors of the *Monothelites* prevail'd very much in the Eaſt, where no Biſhops were preferr'd by the Emperor but ſuch as declar'd themſelves to be of his Opinion; and *Severinus* being elected Pope of *Rome* upon the Death of *Honorius*, *Heraclius* refus'd to confirm the Election, as the Cuſtom was, becauſe the Pope would not ſign an *Expoſition* publiſh'd by *Sergius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the great Patron of the *Monothelites*; which, together with ſome former Indiſpoſition, wrought ſo effectually with the honeſt Pope, that he dy'd ſhortly after, and then the Emperor thought none of his Succeſſors would be ſo hardy as to diſpute his Pleaſure, but found a ſtronger Reſolution in *John* the Fourth, who ſucceeded him; for he, immediately after his Election, ſummon'd a Synod, wherein he condemn'd the *Expoſition* that had been ſent to his Predeceſſor, and anathematis'd the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*. The Emperor, ſurpriz'd at this reſolute Proceeding, and finding that all the Weſtern and *African* Churches were preparing to follow his Example, which he thought in the end would prove highly prejudicial to his Authority, began to retract, and laid all the Blame upon *Sergius*, who was lately dead, and who, he ſaid, had made uſe of his Name without his Conſent or Participation. But before he could convince the World that he was ſincere in his Recantation, he was call'd to give an Account of his Faith at another Place, for he dy'd of a Dropſie, on the eleventh of *May*, the Year following, after a Reign of thirty Years and ten Months.

A. D. 640.

*Heraclius dies.*

*His Character.*

The Eccleſiaſtical Writers of thoſe Times obſerve, that whilſt he perſever'd in the Maintenance of the true Religion he Triumph'd over all his Enemies,

nemies, and extended the Bounds of his Empire, as is evident from the Hiſtory of the eleventh to the twentieth Year of his Reign: But as ſoon as he ſtarted aſide from the Truth, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſeduc'd by the Teachers of Novelty and Error, the Hand of God was againſt him, and blaſted all his Deſigns and Undertakings. The Diſtemper of which he dy'd was attended with ſtrange and troubleſome Symptoms, for he never attempted to make Water but his Urine would fly up in his Face, which ſome account a Judgment upon him, for his inceſtuous marrying his own Neice, after the Death of *Eudocia*, his firſt Wife; at whoſe Funeral the ſame Authors mention a very unfortunate Accident that happen'd: For as they were carrying her with Royal Pomp through the *Forum*, a Girl of ſome barbarous Nation, that was looking out at a Window to behold the Proceſſion, by accident ſpate upon the Herſe, for which the unhappy Offender was immediately ſeiz'd and cruelly burnt, and ſo added the Horror of a Parentation to the Solemnity of the Funeral. This Act of Barbarity ſhows us the Cruelty of *Heraclius* his Temper; and that his Reſentment did not proceed from any extraordinary Reſpect to the deceas'd Empreſs appears from his marrying ſhortly after to *Martina*, his own Neice, to which inceſtuous Match the Eccleſiaſtical Writers aſcribe all the Calamities that afterwards befel the Empire during his Reign. A greater Contrariety was never obſerv'd in any Man's Actions than in thoſe of this Emperor; for if we view him in the Field at the Head of his Army, driving the *Perſians* before him, and hunting their King, a proud and arrogant Prince, from Place to Place, we may conclude no Man was fitter for the Imperial Dignity than himſelf; but if when the Buſineſs of the Field is over we obſerve him, either wallowing in the ſenſual Delights of the

the Court, or buſying himſelf in the Speculations of Religion, and thereby opening a Door in the Church for Hereſie and Schiſm, and ſuffering the ſworn Enemies of the Church and State to gain, by a ſtupendous Progreſs, upon both, we can't but confeſs he defil'd the Imperial Purple with which he was inveſted. In a word, it may be ſaid two Emperors were blended together in the Perſon of this Prince, one very good, and the other ſcandalouſly ill.

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## CHAP. V.

### *From the Death of* Heraclius, *to the Reeſtabliſhment of the Empire in the Weſt by* Charles *the Great.*

*Containing about* 161 *Years.*

A. D. 641. I. *Heraclius* at his Death left the Empire of the Eaſt much decay'd; for all the Provinces of *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Ægypt* and *Arabia* were in the Power of the Infidels; the *Sclavi*, *Hunns* and *Bavarians* were poſſeſs'd of thoſe Countries which to this Day are diſtinguiſh'd by their reſpective Names; the *Goths* reign'd in *Spain*, and the *French* prevail'd in *France*, and *Germany* was divided into ſeveral Principalities. So that the Dominions of the Empire conſiſted of *Thrace*, *Greece*, the Iſlands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and great part of *Italy*, in *Europe*; in *Aſia* it ſtill retain'd *Aſia* the Leſs, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia*; and in *Africk* it had as yet loſt nothing of what had been recover'd to it in the Reign of *Juſtinian*. This is convenient to obſerve here, that the Reader may better underſtand the remaining Part of this Hiſtory. *Heraclius*,

*Heraclius*, before his Death, had declar'd hi Son *Conſtantine*, *Cæſar*, and aſſociated him in the Empire, ſo that he was readily receiv'd, and crown'd Emperor at his Father's Deceaſe, but enjoy'd not the Dignity above four Months, in which time he gave the World a Promiſe of a very hopeful and magnanimous Prince, being generally belov'd by the People, but deteſted by his Step-mother *Martina*, by whoſe Practices he was poiſon'd, to make way for her own Son *Heracleon*; but the God of Vengeance would not ſuffer her long to enjoy what ſhe had purchas'd by the deteſted Sin of Parracide; for her Son had not been obey'd as Emperor ſix Months together, before the Senate re-aſſum'd their Courage; and, joining with the Reſentments of the People, depriv'd her and her Son of the Sovereignty, cutting off his Noſe, and pulling her Tongue out of her Head; after which exemplary piece of Juſtice they were both baniſh'd. At the ſame time *Pyrrhus*, the Heretical Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who had been *Martina*'s Inſtrument in her Villanies, fearing he ſhould be call'd to an Account for his wicked Practices, retir'd from his See, and ſecur'd himſelf by a voluntary Exile. A.D. 642.

The Senate, having thus deliver'd the State from the Uſurpation of *Heracleon* and his Mother, advanc'd *Conſtans*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, to the Throne, on which he ſate twenty ſeven Years, and was the Heir of his Grandfather's Errors, as well as of his Dominions. CONSTANS II

The great Progreſs of the Arms of the Infidels, which began in the Reign of *Heraclius*, was continu'd with wonderful Succeſs in this of his Succeſſor, upon which Account the World was fill'd with Deſolations and Impiety; for wherever the *Saracens* carry'd their Victorious Arms, they ruin'd the Country, and deſtroy'd the Faith: The Emperor

peror for the preſent looking on as an idle Spectator, of what he had not the Power to prevent. Theſe Diſtractions encourag'd *Mauritius*, who had been made Governor of *Rome* by *Heraclius*, to revolt, and ſet up for himſelf. The better to colour his Treaſon, he pretended openly, that *Iſaacius*, Exarch of *Ravenna*, had aſſum'd the Imperial Ornaments, and that therefore it was his Duty to oppoſe him, before he had time to confirm himſelf in his Uſurpation. Upon which, having muſter'd all the Forces he could raiſe, he exacted from 'em an Oath of Obedience, and prepar'd to march againſt *Iſaacius*, who, being inform'd of his Proceedings, and ſenſible how dangerous ſuch a Commotion might prove, ſent an intimate Friend of his own, and a Perſon of great Authority, to *Rome*, with a conſiderable Sum of Money, and at the Head of the choiceſt of his Troops. This Man, having led his Forces near to the Walls of the City, publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein *Mauritius* was declar'd a Rebel, and to thoſe who would quit the Traitor, and return to their Obedience, were not only promis'd a Pardon from the Emperor, but a conſiderable Gratuity, which he was authoriz'd immediately to pay 'em. Upon this Encouragement the Army totally deſerted from *Mauritius*, who fled for Refuge into one of the Churches, from whence he was taken out by Force, and had his Head ſtruck off by an Order from the Exarch, as they were leading him in Chains to *Ravenna*.

The beginning of this Prince's Reign is remarkable for nothing more than thoſe unſeaſonable Diſputes in Religion, which his Grandfather unhappily began, and which he carry'd on with an equal Impetuoſity, and for the Succeſs of the *Saracens* in *Africk*, where in the end they made themſelves abſolute. For one *Gregory* being at that time Imperial Præfect in that Country, render'd him-

A. D. 647. *The* Saracens *Conquer* Africk.

himſelf ſo odious to the Inhabitants by his Tyrannical Exactions, that the Infidels, taking the Advantage of their Diſcontents, and being grown acquainted with the Country by their former Irruptions, enter'd it this Year with conſiderable Forces; and having defeated *Gregory*, they conſtrain'd him to fly, and concluded a Peace with the Natives, who were to own them for their Lords, and pay 'em a certain Annual Tribute; and from this time forward, the *Romans* laid no Claim to any Part of *Africk*, but left it in Poſſeſſion of the *Saracens*; who, having thus render'd themſelves Maſters of that ſpacious Country, diſpers'd part of their Forces up and down in Garriſons to have an Eye upon the Inhabitants, and withdrew the reſt to be employ'd in freſh Conqueſts.

In the mean time the Emperor was carrying on the War of Religion, which now grew more enlarg'd and violent than ever. For *Paul*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, finding that all the Biſhops of the Weſt, and thoſe of *Africk*, ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Error of the *Monothelites*, began to fear, leſt their Zeal for the Faith ſhould cool that for the Emperor, and therefore perſwaded *Conſtans* to publiſh an Edict, call'd the *Type*, wherein the Emperor declar'd, that in order to preſerve the Union of the Church, he commanded all Biſhops, Prieſts and Teachers, to obſerve an exact Silence upon the Point *touching the Will of Jeſus Chriſt*, and not preſume to maintain, either that there was no more than one Will, or that there were two in God made Man. This Type, which the Emperor thought a proper Expedient to compoſe the preſent Differences, was ſo little approv'd by *Theodorus*, at that time Pope of *Rome*, that he condemn'd it as Impious and Heretical, in a Synod ſummon'd for that purpoſe, and Anathematiz'd *Paul*, who had been the Author of it. This rigorous Proceeding

A. D. 648.

Proceeding of the Pope has been juſtly condemn'd by latter Writers, who blame him for calling an Imperial Edict, Impious, which had been chiefly deſign'd to abate the Severity ſhown in the Defence of Monotheliſm, and by which no Man was oblig'd to believe it; and to Excommunicate a Man, who openly acknowledg'd the Five General Councils, particularly that of *Chalcedon*, wherein the Error of *Eutyches* had been condemn'd, and who forbad any one to aſſert there was no more than one Will in Jeſus Chriſt, as *Paul* did in that Type. But we obſerv'd before, the Jealouſie and Averſion the Popes of *Rome* expreſs'd upon all
A. D. 649. Occaſions towards the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, and this ſeem'd a proper Seaſon for *Theodorus* to exert himſelf againſt that See; which Animoſity was more vigorouſly purſu'd the Year following, by *Martin* the Firſt, *Theodorus* his Succeſſor, in a Council celebrated at *Rome*, and call'd upon that Subject. Of which, when the Emperor was adverti's'd, and how averſe the Pope appear'd to his Type, he ſent *Olympius* to be his Exarch at *Ravenna*, with expreſs Order either to allure the Biſhops by Promiſes, or by Threats terrifie 'em into a Compliance. But the Exarch found 'em all obſtinate and untractable; whereupon perceiving he could not ſucceed in the principal Buſineſs, for which he was ſent into *Italy*, he retir'd by the Emperor's Order into *Sicily*, where he dy'd in Diſcontent ſhortly after, and *Theodorus Calliopas* was ſent Exarch in his Room; who, being a Man of a daring Spirit, vigorouſly executed the Emperor's Orders, which were by all means to bring *Martin* Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, where the obſtinate Pope met with a ſevere Treatment, and was at length baniſh'd into the Pontick *Cherſoneſe*, and was made to undergo a great deal of Miſery. Theſe Proceedings on the one ſide and the other, put the Church

Church almoſt into a general Confuſion; for the Head being ſick, the inferior Members were unable to execute their Office as they ought.

It is not eaſily to be imagin'd how prejudicial theſe Diſputes prov'd to the Cauſe of Chriſtianity, and deſtructive to the Empire. For *Conſtans* was ſo wholly taken up in 'em, that he was blind to ſeveral Advantages with which the Diviſions of the *Saracens* preſented him, occaſion'd firſt by ſome controverted Points in their *Alchoran*, and afterwards by ſome Conteſts in the Succeſſion, which in time grew ſo high between the Competitors, that they proceeded to Acts of Hoſtility; and *Mahuvias*, one of the Pretenders, fearing leaſt the Emperor ſhould be perſuaded to make a right uſe of their Diviſions, and recover what they had unjuſtly torn from the Empire, ſent Offers of a Peace between his Nation and the *Romans*, which the unwary Emperor readily condeſcended to, and it was agreed between 'em, that each Party ſhould peaceably enjoy what they had then in Poſſeſſion, and *Mahuvias*, by way of Acknowledgment, ſhould ſend *Conſtans* every Year a thouſand Crowns of Gold, a fine Horſe, and a Slave. Tho' this Treaty was propos'd by *Mahuvias*, and concluded at his Deſire, yet he maintain'd it no longer than the Obſervance of it conſiſted with the Intereſt of his Nation, watching all Advantages to weaken the Empire, and make the Name of the *Saracens* terrible to Mankind. Before this Peace, and in the twelfth Year of this Emperor's Reign, he ſeiz'd on *Rhodes*, where he deſtroy'd the famous *Coloſſus*, founded by *Laches* or *Chares*, thirteen hundred and ſixty Years before, and eſteem'd one of the World's Seven Wonders. It was compos'd of Braſs, and caſt in the Form of a Man, in height ſeventy, ſome ſay eighty Cubits. It ſtood with its Legs extended over the Haven, ſo that Ships with their Maſts erect ſail'd between

*and* Rhodes.

between 'em, ſaid to be twelve Years in Building, and overturn'd ſixty ſix Years after by an Earthquake, which terribly ſhook the whole Iſland. The *Rhodians*, pretending a Prohibition from the Oracle, never preſum'd to erect it again; yet eſteeming the Braſs and the other Materials of it in a manner ſacred, they abſtain'd from applying it to any other Uſe, 'till it was now ſacrilegiouſly remov'd by *Mahuvias*, by whom it was ſold to a *Jewiſh* Merchant of *Emeſſa*, who loaded nine hundred Camels with the Metal; which may ſerve to give us an Idea of its prodigious and almoſt incredible Height and Bigneſs. Whilſt *Mahuvias* was thus employ'd in *Rhodes* his Countrymen broke into *Armenia*, which they pillag'd at Diſcretion, without meeting any from the Emperor, who were able to oppoſe 'em, and put a ſtop to their Depre-
A. D. 654. dations. This careleſs Deportment in the Emperor, who tamely ſuffer'd whole Provinces to be taken from him, encouraged the *Saracens* to make an Attempt upon *Conſtantinople* it ſelf; and accordingly *Mahuvias* order'd a ſtrong Fleet to be fitted out at *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, in which he might, in all probability, have very much incommoded the Imperial City, had not two Chriſtian Brothers, the Sons of a *Grecian* Trumpeter, watch'd their Opportunity, and open'd the Priſons of *Tripolis*, which were crouded with *Grecian* Captives, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they ſet Fire to the Fleet, deſtroy'd all the Naval Preparations, and afterwards eſcap'd in a Ship provided for that purpoſe into the Emperor's Dominions. Notwithſtanding which the Infidels rigg'd out another Fleet, engag'd *Conſtans*, defeated his Navy, and forc'd him to fly in a borrow'd Dreſs to *Conſtantinople*; and they continu'd to exerciſe their Barbarities upon the Lands of the Empire, till the Neceſſity of their own Affairs made 'em ſollicite the Truce before mention'd,

to

to which *Conſtans* unworthily condeſcended, and they perfidiouſly broke, ſo ſoon as they had compos'd their Domeſtick Contentions.

During this Truce, *Conſtans*, inſtead of uniting the Minds of his Subjects, and preparing with all his Forces to oppoſe the ſworn Enemies of the Empire, committed an Act which render'd him odious both to God and Man. He had a Brother call'd *Theodoſius*, whoſe Virtue and Integrity had render'd him the Darling of the People, which made the degenerate Emperor behold him with a jealous Eye: He was conſcious how ill he had deſerv'd the Affections of his Subjects, and thought he had juſt Reaſon to apprehend ſome Innovations; to prevent which, he forc'd his Brother, who was capable of heading a Party againſt him, to be ordain'd Deacon, and receiv'd the Cup in the Holy Sacrament from his Hands; as it was in thoſe Days cuſtomary with the Deacons as well as Prieſts to adminiſter the Euchariſt. After which, thinking the Holy Function an inſufficient Security for him againſt his Fears, he order'd him to be murder'd; but had no ſooner committed the execrable Deed, before he was moſt grievouſly terrify'd with the Remorſe of Conſcience, dreaming almoſt every Night that he beheld his Brother approaching him with a Cup of Blood in his Hand, and commanding him to ſlake his inhuman Thirſt. Being perpetually haunted and terrify'd with theſe Viſions at *Conſtantinople*, the Scene of his late Inhumanity, he thought by quitting that City to ſhake off the Terrors of his Mind, and accordingly reſolv'd for *Sicily*, looking back with Scorn, Regret and Indignation upon that Royal City and Seat of his Empire, where by his Obſtinacy, Hereſie and Parricide he had render'd himſelf odious to the Inhabitants. From this time forward he rov'd up and down like a Vagabond, with *Cain*'s Curſe upon him,

*Conſtans murders his Brother.* A. D. 659.

him, for where-ever he wander'd his Guilt follow'd him, and he was every Moment his own Judge and Executioner. The Account we have of the remaining Part of this Emperor's Reign is diſtracted and broken, like the Temper of his Mind; for the Authors that have written of him hardly agree in any thing more than this, that which way ſoever he directed his Courſe, he continu'd to oppreſs the People, whom he pinch'd by new Impoſts and Exactions. Whilſt he lay in *Sicily*, where he gave himſelf up to ſuperſtitious Fancies and jealous Inquiſitions, *Aripert*, at that time King of the *Lombards*, dy'd, leaving two Sons behind him, between whom he moſt imprudently divided his Kingdom. *Pertharit*, the Eldeſt, kept his Court at *Milan*, and the Youngeſt, whoſe Name was *Gundebert*, reſided at *Pavia*. This Prince, being diſſatisfy'd with the Partition his Father had made, quarrell'd with his Brother; and, as it is uſual in ſuch Conteſts, his Ambition at laſt would ſuffer him to be content with nothing but the whole: The better to ſupport his Pretenſions, he ſent his Ambaſſador to *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneventum*, to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt his Brother, and promis'd upon that Conſideration to give him his Siſter in Marriage. *Gundebert's* Ambaſſador, inſtead of ſolliciting his Maſter's Cauſe, perſuaded *Grimoald* to declare for himſelf; he told him the two Brothers were young, raſh, and unexperienc'd; that the Nation of the *Lombards* requir'd a Prince of Prudence, Power and Intereſt, and that they would never be able to preſerve their Poſſeſſions in *Italy*, unleſs he plac'd himſelf at the Helm. *Grimoald*, being naturally of an active, ambitious Temper, readily liſten'd to a Diſcourſe ſtrengthen'd in appearance with ſo much Reaſon; ſo that without much Conſideration he was perſuaded inſtead of a Champion to become a Competitor, and accordingly having rais'd a very

A. D. 661.

powerful Army, he march'd towards *Pavia*, leaving his Son *Romoald* to command in *Beneventum* during his Abſence. When he was arriv'd near the City, the Ambaſſador was ſent to acquaint *Gundebert* with his Approach; and concealing from him the true Intention of his Expedition, perſwaded the inconſiderate Prince to lodge him in his Palace, where at the firſt Enterview he was murder'd by *Grimoald*, who immediately ſeiz'd on his Treaſure and Dominions. *Pertharit*, terrify'd at his Brother's Fate, and thinking himſelf unable to withſtand ſo potent a Rival, fled from *Milan* to *Chagan*, King of the *Hunns*, demanding his Protection and Aſſiſtance. *Grimoald* having thus kill'd one Brother and forc'd the other to fly his Country, marry'd their Siſter, after which he was, by the univerſal Conſent of the People, declar'd King of the *Lombards*. So ſoon as he ſaw himſelf confirm'd in his Power at home, his firſt care was to ſecure himſelf againſt any foreign Attempts, and therefore requir'd the *Hunns* to baniſh *Pertharit* out of their Dominions, otherwiſe he threaten'd to renounce the Peace that was at that time eſtabliſh'd between the two Nations. Tho' *Chagan* expreſs'd a great Affection to the unfortunate Prince, yet being averſe to a War with the *Lombards*, he commanded *Pertharit* to quit his Territories; who not knowing where to direct his Courſe, reſolv'd in that deſperate Condition to try *Grimoald*'s Honour and Generoſity: To which purpoſe he remov'd to *Lodi*, from whence he diſpatch'd *Unulfus*, his intimate Friend, to intercede in his behalf with *Grimoald*, and obtain a Permiſſion to reſide in Safety at *Pavia*. *Grimoald* appear'd at firſt exceeding glad of the Overture, he entertain'd *Unulfus* with much Friendſhip, and gave Order that *Pertharit* ſhould be receiv'd with a Reſpect due to his Quality; but when he obſerv'd the People attended his Entry with general Shouts

and Acclamations, and that his Friends flock'd both by Day and Night in great Numbers to him, and attended his Perſon, he began to repent of the Kindneſs he had ſhown him, and apprehended leſt the People ſhould be ſorry for the Injuries had been done him, and endeavour to reinſtate him. Tho' he was naturally juſt and generous, yet theſe Thoughts inclin'd him to Blood; for he plac'd a Guard upon him, and gave 'em private Orders the Night following to diſpatch him. Of this *Pertharit* was inform'd by the Vigilancy of his Friend *Unulfus*, by whoſe Advice he chang'd Habits with him, and having by that means deceiv'd the Sentinels, he eſcap'd into *France*; and *Grimoald* was ſo far from reſenting this loyal Device in *Unulfus*, that he immediately gave him his Liberty, with high Commendations for his unſhaken Fidelity, and left it to his Choice of ſtaying there, or following his Maſter. *Clotaire* the Third, at that time King of *France*, being ſenſibly touch'd with the Misfortunes of *Pertharit* and his Family, ſent him back with a powerful Army into *Italy*; where *Grimoald*, who knew beſt how to contend with the Heat of the *French*, pretended, at their Approach, to fly with his whole Army, leaving his Camp well ſtor'd with all manner of Proviſions behind him; whereupon the *French*, who thought they had affected their Deſign without Blows, broke into the Camp, where they eat and drank very plentifully, and then fell faſt aſleep. But *Grimoald*, who had laid that Bait on purpoſe to enſnare them, return'd in the dead of Night, and fell with ſo much Fury upon 'em, that very few were left alive to carry home the News of their Defeat. The Emperor ſeeing the *Lombards* engag'd in this War, thought he had now a fair Opportunity preſented him of driving 'em out of *Italy*; ſo that after he had wander'd up and down for a conſiderable time with a diſcontented

A. D. 663. *The* French *defeated by the* Lombards.

tented Spirit, he fitted out a very powerful Fleet in *Sicily*, from whence ſetting Sail, he arriv'd at *Tarentum*, and march'd his Army immediately to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria*, and ſeveral other Towns belonging to the *Lombards*, in his way. *Romoald*, as we obſerv'd before, was left behind to command in his Father's Abſence; he, as ſoon as he was inform'd of the Emperor's Approach, ſent *Seſuald*, who had been formerly his Governor, to give the King an Account of the Danger the Town was in. *Grimoald* inſtantly prepar'd to march to his Relief, and diſpatch'd back the Meſſenger with News of his coming; but *Seſuald*, before he could recover the Town, fell in with a Party of the *Romans*, by whom he was carry'd to the Emperor, who demanding what he was, and whence he came, he reply'd without any Heſitation, That *he was ſent by the King to inform his Son of his Approach at the Head of an Army to relieve him.* This put *Conſtans* into a great Fright, who now thought of nothing but raiſing the Siege, and retiring in the beſt manner he could to *Naples*; and leſt the Enemy ſhould moleſt him in the Rear, he deſir'd to frighten *Romoald* into ſuch Conditions of Peace as would be moſt for his Advantage: Accordingly he commanded *Seſuald* to go to the Walls, and adviſe the beſieg'd Prince to deliver up the Place, upon an Aſſurance that there was no Poſſibility of any Relief, threatning to ſee him hewn in Pieces, if he refus'd to obey. *Seſuald* promis'd to do as he was required, but when upon his Summons, *Romoald* appear'd upon the Walls, he encourag'd him to entertain no Thoughts of a Surrender or Accommodation, for that his Father was marching to his Aſſiſtance with a very powerful Army; at the ſame time he deſired him to take care of his Wife and Children, *For*, ſaid he, *I am in the Enemies Hands, who this Moment are beginning by a lingring, mercileſs Death*

Conſtans *his Expedition into* Italy.

*to puniſh me for my Affection and Fidelity to my Prince.* Accordingly his Guard who attended, fell upon him by the Emperor's Order, and murder'd him; after which *Conſtans* commanded his Head to be cut off, and by the help of an Engine to be thrown into the Town, where it was taken up and carry'd to *Romoald*, who having kiſs'd it with great Lamentations, very decently bury'd it. In the mean time the Emperor, hearing the *Lombards* were in a very ſhort March of him, rais'd the Siege in great Precipitation, and broke up for *Naples*, but was intercepted in his March by a Party of the *Lombards*, who fell upon the Rear, and cut off ſeveral of his Men, with little or no Loſs ſuſtain'd on their Side. To revenge which Diſgrace, *Saburrus*, one of the Nobility, undertook with twenty thouſand Men, to defeat *Grimoald* himſelf, of whom the Court had ſo dreadful an Apprehenſion. With him *Romoald*, at his own earneſt Requeſt to his Father, engag'd; and tho' the Succeſs for ſome time continu'd doubtful, yet the Victory at laſt inclin'd to the *Lombards*, who following the Chace, ſlew a great Number of the *Romans*, and among the reſt, *Saburrus*, their vain-glorious Captain.

A. D. 664. Theſe Misfortunes convinc'd the Emperor that it was in vain to contend any longer with them; yet that he might not be thought to have made a fruitleſs Expedition into *Italy*, he prepar'd to go and viſit *Rome*; where when the News of his Intent was carry'd, it was receiv'd with the great Satisfaction both of the Pope and the People; for *Rome* had not been honour'd with the Preſence of an Emperor for a long time before; for which Reaſon they provided him a very magnificent Reception. In the Account *Paulus Diaconus* has left us of it, we may obſerve, that the Pope paid the Emperor ſuch Honours, as his Succeſſors have ſince diſdain'd, to the Imperial Dignity, and that the Emperor was not

not in thoſe Days requir'd to kiſs the Pope's Toe; which Ceremony, had it been then perform'd, would not have been omitted by that Author. He tells us, the Emperor remov'd out of the City moſt of the richeſt and remarkable Rarities in it, which he order'd to be tranſported to *Conſtantinople*. After he had continu'd twelve Days in *Rome*, he return'd to *Naples*, and from thence into *Sicily*, ſettling his Court at *Syracuſe*, where he impoveriſh'd the Iſlanders by his heavy Taxes and unreaſonable Impoſitions.

By that time the Emperor was retir'd out of *Italy*, that Country was threaten'd with a new Irruption of the barbarous Nations. *Lupus*, the Duke of *Forum Julii*, obſerving *Grimoald*'s Forces were divided, to defend him at once from the Emperor and the *French*, committed ſeveral Outrages, for which the King, who was now returning in a triumphant manner, threaten'd to call him to a ſevere Account: He, knowing he was unable to juſtifie what he had done, ſupported one Injury with another, and renounc'd his Allegiance to *Grimoald*, who was very deſirous to chaſtiſe him, but unwilling to lead his *Lombards* againſt him, leſt he ſhould bring 'em acquainted with Civil Wars. Upon which Conſideration he invited *Chagan*, the King of the *Hunns*, to fall upon him, promiſing to abandon him and all his Subſtance to him: *Chagan* (a Name common to all the Kings of that People) embrac'd ſo favourable an Opportunity of extending his Dominions, and fell the Year following with a very powerful Army into *Friuli*, where *Lupus* defended himſelf very vigorouſly for four Days together, but was at length overthrown, and kill'd in Battel. This Victory made the *Hunns* look on the Country as their own, for which reaſon they over ran it, and waſted it at their Pleaſure; whereupon *Grimoald* ſent to the King, and demanded him to retire with his Forces,

ſince the Work was done for which they had been call'd in. *Chagan* anſwer'd plainly, that *he would not ſo eaſily quit a Country which he had conquer'd by the Force of his Arms, and at the Expence of ſo many of his Subjects Lives.* *Grimoald*, provok'd at this reſolute Reply, prepar'd to remove him by Force, and collected as good an Army as he could, which however was far ſhort in Number to that of his Adverſary; for which Reaſon he made uſe of a Stratagem to repreſent it more numerous than it was: For he muſter'd his Soldiers in the Preſence of *Chagan*'s Ambaſſadors, and made the ſame Troops march before him two or three Days together in a different Cloathing, by which means they appear'd to be treble the Number they really were, and as ſuch the Ambaſſadors repreſented them to their Maſter, with which he was ſo terrify'd, that he immediately retreated into his own Dominions.

Whilſt *Conſtans* was employing his Days in Extortions, and waſting his Nights in Terror, *Mahuvias*, who was now become Chief of the *Saracens* without any Competitor, began to contemn the unworthy Emperor, and ſent his Son *Izod* into *Romania*, who proceeded as far as *Chalcedon*, and took *Armorium*, a City of *Phrygia*, wherein he left a ſtrong Garriſon, and then retir'd home with extraordinary Spoils. *Conſtans* recover'd the City the next Winter, and put all the Garriſon to the Sword, after which he return'd to his old Oppreſſions, in which he grew inſufferably troubleſome to the Inhabitants of *Calabria*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, ſparing neither Churches nor the Holy Furniture of the Altar. From theſe enormous Courſes he was ſhortly after diverted by *Saporius*, whom he had made Governor of *Armenia*, who ſeeing him wholly employ'd in his Sacrilegious Violence, rebell'd, and ſent *Sergius*, Maſter of the Horſe, to require Aſſiſtance and Support from *Mahuvias*; at whoſe Court

A. D. 667.

Court *Andrea*, one of the Bed-Chamber, arrived from the Emperor at the ſame time, and upon the ſame Errand. Tho' the King gave Audience to both, yet he declar'd for *Saporius*, and promis'd to ſend him a very powerful Aſſiſtance; but before it could arrive, the Uſurper's Horſe threw him, and he dy'd ſhortly after of the Fall. The ſame juſt Puniſhment befel his Ambaſſador *Sergius*, who in his Return fell into *Andreas* his Hands, and was hang'd immediately.

For four Years together the Emperor had reſided at *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*, from whence the moſt important Affairs of the Empire could not withdraw him; during which time he had render'd himſelf univerſally odious, and contemptible to all Mankind. This encourag'd ſome, who were the moſt implacably averſe to him, to conſpire againſt him, and they ſucceeded ſo luckily in their Meaſures, that he was knock'd on the Head by a Veſſel in the Bath, after he had reign'd twenty ſeven Years, in the fourteenth of *Vitalian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *A. D.* 668. Conſtans *Slain.*

He left the Empire at his Death in as much a lower Condition than he found it, as he exceeded his Predeceſſor in his Corruptions and ſupine Negligence. He is not recommended to Poſterity by One good Act throughout his long and unſucceſsful Reign, but render'd himſelf odious to his Cotemporaries by a thouſand ill ones. He was neither a prudent Prince, a juſt Husband, a tender Father, loving Maſter, nor ſincere Chriſtian; ſo that in all the moſt conſiderable and indiſpenſible Duties of Life he was deficient. His extravagant Behaviour had render'd him ſo contemptible to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, that he is ſaid once to have reſolv'd to tranſlate the Seat of the Empire to *Rome*, and ſent accordingly for his Wife and Children; but the Citizens, being inform'd of his Deſign, *His Character.*

Design, reproach'd him with bitter Reflections, and would not let 'em go. He inherited his Grandfather's Zeal for the Heresie of the *Monothelites*, tho' he did not seem to act upon the same Principle; for *Heraclius* is thought really to have believ'd what he so zealously profes's'd, whereas *Constans* his Profession proceeded rather from the Perverseness of his Will, than the Direction of his Understanding; and 'tis observ'd of him, that first or last he espous'd almost all Parties in Religion but the Orthodox. He never had an Enemy that really fear'd him, nor Friend that sincerely lov'd him; and it may be truly said of him, that during his Reign, the Empire had no Enemy more pernicious than himself, and as such he liv'd such he died, leaving a Son behind him that in some measure atton'd for his Father's Faults.

A. D. 668. II. *Constans*, the late Emperor, had so generally disoblig'd his Subjects, especially the Army, that they readily receiv'd an Emperor from the Conspirators, who proclaim'd one *Mezizius*, or *Melius*, an *Armenian*, who had no other Qualifications to recommend himself to 'em, but the Beauty of his Person. For some time this Man behav'd himself as Emperor in *Sicily*, whilst *Constantine*, the Son of *Constans*, doubtful of the Peoples Affections, tho' his Father had assum'd him as his Collegue in his Life-time, was afraid, or unable to assert his Right. In the like manner *Theodorus*, Exarch of *Ravenna*, tho' he had a sufficient Army at Command, dar'd not resent, as he ought, the Usurpation of *Melius*, nor revenge the Death of his Master; for he found he was universally abhorr'd for his Covetousness, and the People for the present fond of the Change. Upon this Account he and other great Men sate silent for some time, and declin'd declaring themselves either for

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*Conſtantine* or the Uſurper, till the Army at length diſcover'd the Inability of the Idol they had ſet up, and began to repent of his Promotion. This Diſaffection in the Army in *Sicily* preſently diffus'd it ſelf into other Parts, ſo that a powerful Party began to appear for *Conſtantine*, who, having fitted out a ſtrong Fleet, attack'd the Uſurper, whom he defeated and put to Death, together with all thoſe who had been the moſt active in his Behalf. Having ſettled all things according to his Deſire in *Sicily*, where he was proclaim'd and acknowledg'd Emperor, he ſet Sail for *Conſtantinople*, where he was receiv'd with the general Satisfaction of his People, who gave him the Sirname of *Pogonatus*, becauſe being young when he left the City, he had no more than a little Down appearing upon his Chin, but now return'd to 'em with a mature Beard. At firſt he aſſum'd his two Brothers, *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, as his Aſſociates in the Empire with him, but finding the People purſu'd 'em with their Acclamations, and that ſome preſum'd to demand they might be formally Crown'd as well as himſelf, he cut off their Noſes, by which Mutilation he deſtroy'd their Hopes to the Sovereignty; and ſome add, his Jealouſie was not ſatisfy'd with that Remedy, but that he ſhortly after put 'em to Death. Notwithſtanding this inhuman Action, he always expreſs'd a great Zeal for the Purity of Faith, and appear'd much concern'd at the Diviſions the *Monothelites* fomented in the Church, which he endeavour'd by all means poſſible to remove; for which purpoſe he caus'd the Sixth General, or Oecumenical Council to be celebrated at *Conſtantinople*, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign. CONSTANTINE III.

This Year the *Saracens* made a new Irruption into *Africk*, where ſome of the Natives had inſulted their Garriſons, and after having committed unſpeakable

unſpeakable Diſorders, they led away eighty thouſand Priſoners. They were now grown ſo exceeding powerful, that there was hardly a Province in the Empire into which they did not pierce the Year following, deſtroying all in a moſt barbarous manner where-ever they paſs'd, with Fire and Sword. Particularly, obſerving the unſettled Face of Affairs at *Conſtantinople*, they made a Deſcent into *Sicily*, taking *Syracuſe*, the Capital City of the Iſland; from whence they tranſported to *Alexandria* every thing of Value, eſpecially ſuch Rarities as the Emperor *Conſtans* had remov'd thither out of *Italy*. This Succeſs encourag'd 'em to greater Attempts, for they ſhortly after rigg'd out a Fleet, with which they paſs'd into *Cilicia*, which they waſted in a very Hoſtile manner, and winter'd at *Smyrna*, from whence they prepar'd to Beſiege
A. D. 624. *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, which they did by Sea and Land the Year following.

But by this time *Conſtantine* had ſo firmly ſettled himſelf in the Throne, ſo thoroughly reform'd the Court and the Army, and ſo effectually provided for the City and the Fleet, that he was very little concern'd at their Motions. He receiv'd 'em with ſo much Courage, and with an Army ſo well appointed, that they were forc'd to retire with great Loſs towards the latter end of the Summer to *Cyzicus*, which they ſeiz'd, and there laid up their Fleet till the next Spring, and then they prepar'd to renew the Siege, which the *Grecian* Writers ſay continu'd for ſeven Years together; tho' it appears from ſome of 'em, that a Peace was concluded in the fourth Year, to the great Satisfaction of the *Saracens*, and that for Reaſons which will be ſhown hereafter. The Siege was carry'd on from Year to Year with various Succeſs, during which, *Conſtantine* gave the World remarkable inſtances of his great Care and Conduct, and the *Saracens* found by Expe-

Experience, that their late ſucceſsful Progreſs was rather owing to the ſenſeleſs Stupidity, or the ſupine Negligence of the preceeding Emperors, than their own Valour and Conduct. During this Siege *Callinicus*, a Mathematician of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, invented a Wild-fire, call'd by the *Saracens*, *Græcus Ignis*, which was made to burn under the Water, and very much incommoded the Infidels, who in one Sea Fight loſt thirty thouſand of their Men, and ſhortly after had their whole Fleet burnt in the Port of *Cyzicus*, be the means of that Wild-fire.

*A Fleet of the Saracens deſtroy'd.*

This Advantage over the Enemy was attended by another of as fatal a Conſequence to the Infidels, for the Emperor's Lieutenants engag'd a great Body of the *Saracens*, under the Conduct of *Suphianus*, the Son of *Aphus*, in *Syria*, where he was defeated, and loſt the greateſt part of his Forces. And as if theſe Loſſes were not ſufficient to humble that proud Nation, which, like an irreſiſtible Torrent, had with an unbounded Flood laid waſte all before it, and had about this time fallen upon *Spain* with a Naval Army, compos'd of two hundred and ſeventy Veſſels; *Bamba*, a Captain, deſcended from the ancient and illuſtrious Race of the *Gothick* Princes, at that time King of *Spain*, watching an Advantage, fell upon 'em and deſtroy'd their whole Fleet. Theſe concurring Misfortunes encourag'd the *Maronites*, or *Mardaites*, in great Numbers to ſeize upon Mount *Libanus*, the moſt ſerviceable Places whereof they ſo ſtrongly fortified, that they found themſelves ſecure againſt all Attacks, and were ſhortly after join'd with ſuch Multitudes of Slaves, made ſuch by the *Saracens* in the Courſe of their Wars, who fled thither for their Liberty, that they compos'd a very numerous Army, which deſcending in Bodies regularly form'd, cover'd the Plains of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and grew terrible to the *Saracens*. Hereupon

A. D. 674.

*Mahuvias*,

*Mahuvias*, seeing himself thus assaulted on every side, and that Fate seem'd to threaten his Nation with an entire Dissolution, thought a Peace with the Emperor the best Expedient at so dangerous a Conjuncture; accordingly he sent his Ambassadors to Treat with *Constantine* upon that Subject. The Emperor, who thought it prudence to embrace a Peace, if to be obtain'd upon honourable Terms, and was zealously careful to compose the Differences in Religion, readily listen'd to the O-
A. D. 676. verture, and sent *John*, Sirnam'd *Pitzigrandis*, a Patrician, famous for his Wisdom and Nobility, as his Plenipotentiary into *Syria*, where he met with a Reception suitable to his Quality, and at length the Negotiations on both sides were brought
*A Peace with the* Saracens. to this Issue, That for Thirty Years together, a Truce should inviolably be observ'd between the *Romans* and the *Saracens*, who, upon that Consideration, were oblig'd to pay the Emperor and his Successors, every Year, thirty thousand Pounds of Gold, five hundred Slaves, and as many choice Horses. Authors vary as to the Articles of this Treaty, but they all agree that in the Substance of it, as Matters then stood, it was very much to the Honour of the Empire: For upon the Conclusion of it, the King or *Chagan* of the *Avari*, the *Hunns*, *Bulgarians*, and other Nations bordering upon the Empire, sent to congratulate *Constantine*, and to renew their former Alliances confirm'd between 'em, by which means the Empire for some time enjoy'd a greater Tranquility than it had done many Years before.

The *Maronites*, who gave a beginning to this Peace, were, according to some Authors, Christians inhabiting the Mountain *Libanus*, so nam'd from a Monk call'd *Maron*, very much esteem'd by 'em for his extraordinary Learning, and Holy Life. Others, upon more probable Grounds, de-

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rive their Name from the Country they inhabited, call'd *Maronia*, extending from the Sea near *Antioch* up to the Mountain *Libanus*. For it appears from ſome ancient Medals, that they were known by that Name to the World before the Days of Chriſtianity; and for as much as their Country abounded with moſt excellent Wines, they eſteem'd *Bacchus* as their great Patron and Protector. For ſome time they were a great Check to the Conqueſts of the *Saracens*, but were in the end forc'd to ſubmit, tho' upon reaſonable Terms, ſecuring to themſelves, among other Privileges, the free Exerciſe of their Religion; and the better to keep their Country free from the Intermixture of *Mahometans*, they are ſaid at this Day to pay a great Annual Tribute to the Grand Signior. At firſt they embrac'd the Errors of the *Monothelites*, but ſome ſay they have at length renounc'd 'em, and not many Years ſince ſubmitted themſelves to the Pope of *Rome*.

The Emperor, having thus concluded a Peace with the *Saracens* and the reſt of the Neighbouring Nations, earneſtly endeavour'd to find out ſome Remedy for the Diviſions of the Church, which every Day improv'd, and grew more incurable, and began to think of ſummoning a general Council for that purpoſe, in which he was earneſtly ſeconded by *Agathon*, at that time Pope of *Rome*, but was a little diverted from his Deſign by ſome new Attempts of the *Bulgarians*, who, to the number of one hundred thouſand Perſons came about this time out of *Scythia*, that inexhauſted Fountain of barbarous Nations, and leaving their Native Seats upon the Banks of the Rivers *Volga*, or *Bulga*, from whence ſome imagine they were call'd *Bulgarians*, they proceeded in a tumultuous manner till they came to the *Danube*, which they paſs'd, and exceedingly haraſs'd the Territories of the

A. D. 679.

*The* Bulgarians *paſs the* Danube.

the Empire. *Conſtantine* having rais'd a powerful Army, ſent it againſt 'em, and the *Romans* thought they ſhould with great eaſe, maſter an undiſciplin'd Multitude, who, being not poſſeſs'd of any fortify'd Towns, were Strangers to the Arts of Encampment, and lay, as they thought, liable to every Aſſault. In this Preſumption they march'd careleſly, and without any Order; by which means they were the Inſtruments of their own Diſgrace and Ruin; for the Barbarians fell with ſo much Vigour upon 'em, that they were entirely defeated; of which, when the Emperor was inform'd, he choſe rather to embrace a diſhonourable Peace, than continue a doubtful, but honourable War; and therefore appeas'd 'em with a great Sum of Money, and ſuffer'd 'em to ſettle in the lower *Myſia*, from them afterwards call'd *Bulgaria*, which they quietly inhabited for many Years, 'till they were finally ſubdu'd by the *Turks*. I know ſome Writers have plac'd this Settlement ſeveral Years backwards, but the generality of Authors, and indeed the Circumſtances of Hiſtory, ſeem to defer it 'till this.

Tho' the Emperor had purchas'd this Peace upon mean diſhonourable Conditions, he apply'd it to juſt and Chriſtian Ends; for having thus ſecur'd the State, he labour'd earneſtly for the Peace and Welfare of the Church. He had the Year before acquainted *Agathon*, Biſhop of *Rome*, with his Reſolution of ſummoning a General Council, there to have the Doctrine of the *Monothelites* debated and examin'd; in order to which ſeveral National Synods were held, particularly in *France*, *Italy*, and *England*; in all which, ſome Articles of Faith relating to that Point were digeſted into Form, and were to be more particularly diſcuſs'd at the following Council; which, after many Oppoſitions made by *Theodore*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who being

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a profeſs'd *Monothelite* endeavour'd by all his Artifices to fruſtrate the Emperor's good Intentions, and was therefore by his Authority depos'd, was open'd at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty ſecond of *November*, *A. D.* 680. In the Pope's Letters ſent by his Legates to the Emperor, the groſs Ignorance of the *Roman* Biſhops at that time evidently appears from his own Confeſſion; for, after many Expreſſions full of Reſpect and Submiſſion, he humbly beſeeches the Emperor to excuſe their Ignorance of the Languages and the Holy Scriptures, for he tells him, *he was forc'd to ſend into* England *for a Divine, having no Perſon in* Italy *fit to appear in that Quality at the Council.* And this is written not only in Behalf of his own Legates, but the Deputies of the Synod. If this Ignorance prevail'd to ſo high a Degree among the Clergy of *Rome*, in what Darkneſs muſt the common People be involv'd? And yet ſuch as theſe have been choſen to decide the moſt important Controverſies relating to the Salvation of Mankind, who were implicitly oblig'd to ſubmit to their Deciſions.

A. D. 680. *The ſixth General Council held at* Conſtantinople.

This Council was the moſt conſiderable thing relating to the Church that happen'd in that Age, tho' it was remarkable for nothing more than that it anathematis'd *Honorius*, who had been Pope of *Rome* in the Year 626: From whence it is evident that the Pope is as liable to Errors as other Biſhops, and that a General Council is above him; which are Truths the great Champions for the Papacy have, in theſe latter Ages, very earneſtly labour'd to overthrow. In the ſixteenth Seſſion of this Council, *Polycronius*, a Prieſt, was depos'd, as an obſtinate Heretick and Seducer of the People. Being a profeſs'd *Monothelite*, he had written his Confeſſion of Faith on a large Paper, and laid it upon a dead Corps, declaring boldly, in the Preſence of the Council and all the People of *Conſtantinople*,

that he would confirm his Doctrine by a Miracle, and by that Power, Purity and Efficacy of his Faith, raiſe the Dead to Life: The whole World ſtood attentive for ſome time in Expectation of the Miracle which he had moſt blaſphemouſly promis'd, but when they found it all Deluſion, they exclaim'd againſt him, and the Multitude were hardly reſtrain'd from falling upon him: So dreadful a thing is it for Men to give themſelves up to Novelties, or teach any thing for Truth but what is founded upon the undoubted Authority of the Scriptures. This ſixth General Council, celebrated at *Conſtantinople* under *Conſtantine* the Third, together with that which follow'd under his Succeſſor *Juſtinian*, did ſo far put a ſtop to the Hereſie of the *Monothelites* as to baniſh it out of *Conſtantinople*, tho' it could not entirely root it out in the Eaſt, for it ſtill maintain'd its Ground at *Antioch*, where the *Maronites* retain'd it for ſeveral Ages after: But what is worſe than all, the *Eutychians*, both of the Eaſt and *Egypt*, ſeeing the *Monothelites* had been condemn'd for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they came up too near to their Errors, grew more obſtinate and irreclaimable; and ſo carefully inſtill'd their poiſonous Doctrine where-ever they came, that even at this Day the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* are ſaid to be infected with that Hereſie.

A. D. 682. The Biſhops were hardly diſmiſs'd from the Council, and the Pope's Legates return'd to *Rome*, before *Agathon* dy'd; whereupon there enſu'd a Vacancy in the See a full Year, and ſeven Months, occaſion'd by the Intrigues and Diſſention of thoſe who aſpir'd at the Papacy. However at this time the Emperor, in Behalf of himſelf and his Succeſſors, remitted to the Biſhops of *Rome* the Fine they were oblig'd to pay upon their Promotion, reſerving ſtill to himſelf the Right of Confirmation; and yet even that was renounc'd by him ſhortly after,

when *Benedict* the Second was advanc'd to the Papacy. This Indulgence, as it was intended to prevent thoſe Diſorders upon Elections, which, as it appear'd afterwards, it could not remove, ſo was it a great Step to that Sovereign Authority, to which the Papacy in ſucceeding Ages attain'd.

Tho' *Italy* had for a long time enjoy'd a perfect Tranquility, and both the Exarchs and *Lombards* religiouſly obſerv'd the ſeveral Treaties concluded between 'em, yet was it not exempt from other Judgments, which appear'd more terrible and grievous than War it ſelf: For about this time there happen'd ſuch great Tempeſts and Convulſions in the Heavens, as if the Elements had conſpir'd againſt Mankind; the Winds were ſo violent that many Buildings were overthrown, and Trees rooted up; the Rains fell in ſuch prodigious Quantities, that all the Tillage was deſtroy'd, and were attended with Thunders and Lightning, which ſlew great Numbers of People; and the Earth became ſo corrupt, from theſe unuſual and unnatural Alterations, that a deadly Plague enſu'd, which ſwept off great Multitudes of the Inhabitants.

*Conſtantine*'s great Care and Zeal for the Peace of the Church preſerv'd likewiſe that of the State, for he liv'd all the reſt of his Reign in a Repoſe and Tranquility which his Virtue had deſerv'd. The *Saracens* religiouſly obſerv'd the Treaty concluded between them and the Empire, and the *Lombards* were too much at Variance among themſelves to attempt any thing againſt his Officers in *Italy*; ſo that he found himſelf at leiſure to attend the Affairs of his own Family, and the Welfare of the Church, which he enrich'd with many magnificent Buildings and Royal Endowments. He had for a long time enjoy'd an uninterrupted Health, which now began to be impair'd, whereupon he declar'd his Son *Juſtinian* his Collegue in the Empire, and took

JUSTINIAN II.

took Care to have his Choice approv'd by the Senate and the People. At length, when he perceiv'd the Hour of his Diſſolution approaching, he ſent for his Son, and in the Preſence of the Senate, inſtructed him in the Art of Government, and read him an excellent Lecture upon that Subject, in the Obſervance of which *Juſtinian* might have made himſelf great, and his Subjects happy: After which, and ſome private ſerious Diſcourſes with the Biſhops that attended, *Conſtantine* dy'd in the Month of *December*, when he had reign'd ſeventeen Years and ſome Months, *A. D.* 685. *John* V. being then Pope of *Rome*.

A. D. 685.

Conſtantine *dies.*

*His Character.* The Character of this Prince will beſt appear from the Circumſtances of his Reign, from which it is manifeſt that he well deſerves to be reckon'd among the beſt of the *Roman* Emperors; he was Modeſt, Juſt, Cautious and Compaſſionate, and, unlike many of his Predeceſſors, apply'd the Peace, which he may be ſaid to have purchas'd upon diſhonourable Terms, to very honourable Ends, to the healing the Breaches of the Church, and removing the Diſtempers of the State. Two things he is juſtly to be taxed with, his Cruelty to his Brethren, which however the Reaſons of State ſeem'd to make neceſſary, and his little Care in appointing ſome proper Perſon before his Death to counſel and direct his Son, and provide for the Neceſſities of the State; but theſe are Faults his many other excellent Qualities have abundantly over-weigh'd.

III. The Inconſtancy of Fortune, and Viciſſitude of Humane Affairs appears ſo conſpicuous nowhere as in thoſe who are advanc'd in Dignity above the reſt of Mankind; to prove which, the Emperor of whoſe Reign we are now going to treat, is a moſt ſignal Inſtance; and the Reader will find him like an Actor, ſometimes entring up-

on the Stage cloath'd in the glorious Ornaments of Imperial Majeſty, at others deſolate and forſaken, ſtripp'd of his Power, and expos'd to the Scorn and Contempt of the People.

*Conſtantine*, at his Death, had left the State in ſo good a Condition, and contracted ſuch firm Alliances with his Neighbours, that his Son *Juſtinian*, tho' a Youth no more than ſixteen Years old, and degenerating from the Virtues of his Father, being raſh, cholerick, fickle and intractable, yet was at firſt chearfully obey'd by all Men, and for ſome Time govern'd the Empire in that Tranquility in which his Father had left it. *Abdelmelech*, Prince of the *Saracens*, ſent and confirm'd the Peace made by his Predeceſſor, offering, among other Conditions, to reſtore to the Emperor whatever they of his Nation retain'd in *Africk*, together with other Annual Contributions of Men and Horſes: In Conſideration of which, *Juſtinian* undertook to repreſs the Inroads of the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites*, mention'd before, who by their frequent Excurſions from Mount *Libanus* very much incommoded the *Saracens*. At the ſame time *Abdelmelech* engag'd himſelf to pay the Emperor a thouſand Crowns a Day, and provide every *Roman* employ'd in the Service with an Horſe and a Slave. Theſe Articles prov'd very prejudicial to the Empire, for there were at leaſt twelve thouſand experienc'd Soldiers of thoſe *Maronites*, who continually haraſs'd all the Country held by the *Saracens*, from *Mopſueſtia* to *Armenia*, and, forcing the Inhabitants to deſert it, render'd it barren and unſerviceable. Theſe People *Magiſtrianus* was ſent by the Emperor to repreſs, to the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of the *Roman* Power and Authority in thoſe Parts, as it afterwards appear'd, upon a Rupture between *Abdelmelech* and the Emperor, and brought unſpeakable Calamities upon the Territories of the Empire.

A. D. 687. *Justinian*, having by this means as he thought secur'd himself against any Attempts of the *Saracens*, broke the League his Father had solemnly made with the *Bulgarians*; and having muster'd his Army, he enter'd their Country in a very hostile manner, exacting unreasonable Contributions from the Inhabitants, and seizing on several Forts which had been abandon'd. This success in the beginning of the War made him careless and presumptuous, which when the *Bulgarians* observ'd, they recover'd Courage, and, drawing all the Forces they had together, press'd so closely upon the Emperor, that he was oblig'd to restore most of his Prisoners, Towns, and whatever else he had taken from 'em, to purchase a Retreat.

*Justinian overthrown by the Bulgarians.*

Notwithstanding this Miscarriage, he return'd in a triumphant manner to *Constantinople*, and, as if his late imaginary Success had enabled him to give Law to the whole World, he renounc'd the League and Alliance lately concluded between him and *Abdelmelech*; who, having settled all his Matters in *Arabia*, was now grown able to contend with any foreign Opposition, and had therefore conniv'd at some of his Men who wasted the Borders and robb'd several of the Emperor's Subjects. At this *Justinian* was so highly offended, that he resolv'd to proceed to an open Rupture, for which he laid hold of a very trivial Occasion; he refus'd to receive the Tribute of Gold which the *Saracens* had oblig'd themselves by the late Articles to pay him every Year, because it was not stamp'd with his Image: And tho' *Abdelmelech* promis'd to put a stop to the Depradations his Subjects committed upon the Borders, and to perform every thing else requir'd of him by the Treaty, yet he continu'd inflexible, and declar'd War against him. This Resolution, as it was inconsiderate and unnecessary, so in the Issue did it prove very prejudicial and fatal

*He declares War with the Saracens;*

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to the Empire, and gave Entrance to those innumerable Calamities which afterwards befel Christianity.

Having thus resolv'd for the War, he began with great Diligence to raise a very powerful Army, in which he made as false Steps as in any of his former Proceedings; for distrusting the Service of his *Roman* Legions, and the Forces already on Foot, he lifted at a vast Expence thirty thousand *Sclavi*, distinguishing 'em from the rest of his Army by peculiar marks of Honour and Favour. In the mean time the *Saracens*, with repeated Prayers and Complaints, adjur'd him by the living God, by the Interposition of whose Name the League was made, not to break it: But he, without giving Audience to any of their Messengers, drew down his Forces towards *Sebastopolis*, a Town in *Asia Proconsularis*. Whereupon the *Saracens* march'd against him with all the Troops they were able to raise, and met him before he was got into the Bowels of their Country; there advancing the Tables of the League upon the Top of a Spear, they engag'd him under the Conduct of *Moamed*, or *Mahomet*, *Abdelmelech*'s Lieutenant. The Emperor had the Advantage in the first Encounter, and in all probability had obtain'd an entire Victory, if *Moamed* had not supply'd his want of Men by the help of a Stratagem, always allowable, and frequently of great Use in the Management of a War. The *Sclavi* made up the strongest Part of the Emperor's Army; these he knew follow'd *Justinian* from no other Consideration than that of their Pay; he therefore sent 'em a larger Sum than that they had been promis'd by the Emperor, to induce 'em to desert over to him, or return into their own Country; whereupon twenty thousand of 'em left the Emperor, and join'd their Standards with those of the *Saracens*. A. D. 691.

This ſeaſonable Addition to *Moamed*'s Forces, quite turn'd the Balance, for the *Saracens* fell inſtantly upon the *Romans*, whilſt they were amaz'd at ſo unexpected a Deſertion, and forc'd 'em to fly, the Emperor himſelf haſtening in great Precipitation to *Leucate*; where, enrag'd at his Loſs, and affronted at the Treachery of the *Sclavi*, he in great Fury commanded thoſe that continu'd with him, together with their Wives and Children, to be ſlain, and their Bodies to be caſt into the Sea; after which barbarous Reſentment he return'd with Shame and Diſhonour to *Conſtantinople*, where he ſhortly loſt the Memory of his late Diſgrace in other Amuſements.

*and defeated by em.*

In the mean time the *Saracens* grew ſo formidable by this important Victory, that *Sabbatius*, Governor of *Armenia*, being inform'd of the Emperor's Defeat, and knowing he had not Forces ſufficient to make Head againſt the victorious Enemy, deliver'd the Country inſtantly into their Hands, after which they ſubdu'd the inner Part of *Perſia*, call'd *Choroſen*. At the ſame time *Moamed*, to be reveng'd on *Juſtinian*, and to make his Subjects feel the diſmal Effects of that War his Obſtinacy and Perfidiouſneſs had brought upon 'em, invaded his Dominions, in which he was aſſiſted by the *Sclavi*, his new Auxiliaries, by whoſe Direction he haraſs'd the Provinces that lay moſt expos'd; and after he had exercis'd as many Miſchiefs and Cruelties as an enrag'd barbarous Enemy could deſire, he return'd home with a vaſt number of Priſoners, who were all ſold into Captivity.

A. D. 693. In this manner were the Provinces exhauſted and deſtroy'd, whilſt *Juſtinian*, inſtead of providing for their Defence, was wholly employ'd in Buildings at *Conſtantinople*, where he erected a magnificent Banqueting-Houſe, and encircled his Palace with a Wall. *Stephen*, a *Perſian* by Nation, and Chief

Chief of the Eunuchs, was appointed Surveyor of the Works; in which Office he behav'd himſelf with ſo much Cruelty, that he commanded ſeveral of the poor Labourers to be put to Death, and preſum'd in the Emperor's Abſence, to beat *Anaſtaſius*, *Juſtinian*'s Mother, uſing with equal Barbarity and Impudence, the greateſt Men of the City, many of whom he impriſon'd, and loaded others with very ſcandalous Indignities, and that upon little or no Provocation; in all which he was ſeconded and aſſiſted by *Theodotus*, a Monk, whom the Emperor had taken out of his Cell, and promoted to an honourable Employment in the Court. This Man perſuaded *Juſtinian* to convert a Church, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, which ſtood near the Palace, into a Theatre; and as the Labourers were going to demoliſh it for that Purpoſe, the Emperor forc'd *Callinicus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to ſanctifie the ungodly Work by a Prayer; ſtriving by this, and ſeveral other unchriſtian and inhuman Actions, to render himſelf odious to the People, and pull the Divine Vengeance down upon his Head. As a Prelude to his approaching Calamities there happen'd an Eclipſe of the Sun on the fifth of *October* this Year, which was ſo totally darken'd, that the Stars were plainly ſeen at Noon-day.

*Juſtinian*'s abominable Practices had exceedingly expos'd him to the Hatred of his Subjects, which by degrees grew ſo violent againſt him, as made him apprehend it would in a ſhort time break out into ſome dangerous Effects; for this Reaſon he conſider'd by what means he might provide for his own Safety, and anticipate their Reſentments. After ſome Deliberation he gave Order to *Stephen* the Eunuch, and *Rufus*, an Officer in the Army, upon a ſet Night to Maſſacre all the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, and to begin with

Juſtinian, *having rendered himſelf odious to his Subjects*,

with *Callinicus* the Patriarch. *Leontius*, the Patrician, happen'd at that time to be in the City; he had formerly been General for the Emperor in the Eaſt, where his Conduct was ſo well approved, that the Emperor grew jealous of him, and threw him into Priſon; but ſome time before this he was releas'd, and made Governor of *Greece*, with Orders to embark that very Day upon ſome Expedition. As he was preparing for his Voyage, ſeveral of his Friends came to him, and among the reſt two Monks, one call'd *Gregory*, the Superior of a Monaſtery, and the other *Peter*, both very good Mathematicians, and who, whilſt he lay in Priſon in great Danger of his Life, had foretold him that he ſhould be Emperor before he dy'd, notwithſtanding the Condition he then was in. Theſe Men repreſented to him, That *now was the time for him to make good their Predictions, if he would not be wanting to himſelf, but concur with the People, and ſave the Nobility from the Ruin which hung over their Heads*: That *he ought not to omit the Opportunity he now had of revenging himſelf upon* Juſtinian *for the Injuries he had receiv'd, and of reſcuing his Country out of the Hands of a Tyrant*: That *the Minds of the People were totally alienated from their unworthy Prince, and* that *their Eyes were fix'd on him as on their Deliverer.* Theſe Arguments ſo awaken'd and confirm'd *Leontius*, that being join'd by his moſt intimate Friends, and ſuch Soldiers upon whoſe Fidelity he could depend, he got, by a Stratagem, into the Imperial Palace, where he ſeiz'd on *Juſtinian*, and, having cut off his Noſe, led him in that Condition through the City, ſummoning, by Proclamation as he went, all thoſe that were Chriſtians to meet him at the Church of St. *Sophia*, whither the Multitude ran in great Crowds, to whom the Patriarch cry'd aloud, *This is the Day which the Lord*

*is depos'd.*

*Lord hath made, therefore we will rejoice and be glad in it; this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes.* The next Morning *Juſtinian* was carry'd in an ignominious manner to the *Circus*, where the People attended and baniſh'd him by an unanimous Voice to the Pontick *Cherſoneſus*. At the ſame time *Theodotus* and *Stephen* were dragg'd through the publick Streets to the Ox Market, where they were burnt alive; after which publick Examples of Juſtice, *Leontius* was ſaluted Emperor by the univerſal Acclamations of the People. *and baniſh'd.*

Thus fell *Juſtinian* from the heigth of Humane Glory, down to the abject Condition of the meaneſt Slave, diſfigur'd, baniſh'd, abandon'd and deſpis'd, glad to eſcape with Life, which was prolong'd to him by Providence, that he might remain to Poſterity, a perfect Example of the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and the Mutability of Humane Greatneſs. Almoſt all Ages can ſupply us with Inſtances of unfortunate Princes, who either thro' their own Miſmanagement, or the Factions of State, have been forc'd to give way to popular Fury, and loſe their Lives and Crowns together, or end their Days in a diſconſolate Exile. But we rarely meet with thoſe, who, like this *Juſtinian*, have out-liv'd their ill Fortune, and, after a ſtormy tempeſtuous Declenſion, riſen again like the Sun with freſh Glories, and call'd the Authors of their Diſgrace to a ſevere and fatal Account. From the Conſideration of ſuch Examples as theſe we are taught to have an humble Opinion of our ſelves; to pay a juſt Deference to thoſe whom the Laws have ſet over us; to think no Man ſo high, but that there is a ſuperior Power ſtill preſiding over, and able to controul him; nor any ſo low, but the Hand of Providence can raiſe and reſtore him. This great Revolution happen'd in the tenth A. D. 694.

Year

Year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, the ſeventh of *Sergius*, Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 694.

IV. *Juſtinian* being thus baniſh'd, *Leontius* was acknowledg'd and obey'd as Emperor, and he govern'd the State as ſuch almoſt three Years, but in the end met with the ſame Treatment he had given *Juſtinian*. The firſt Year of this new Emperor was diſcompos'd with no Commotions from abroad, ſo that he had more Opportunity to confirm his Authority at home. In his Second the *Saracens* made ſome Irruptions into the Territories of the Empire, from whence they return'd with great Booty; and having rais'd a powerful Army, they once more invaded *Africk*, in which they took *Carthage*, and over-ran all the Country: Whereupon *Leontius* ſent *John*, the Patrician, a Man of great Valour and Reputation, with all the Ships he could rig out againſt 'em. *John* readily embrac'd the Service, and recover'd all the ſtrong Holds and Caſtles they had taken, and drove the Infidels out of the Country, where he winter'd with his Army, and ſent *Leontius* an Account of his Expedition. The *Saracens* mann'd out a ſtronger Fleet than ever, the Spring following, in order to repair the Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd the preceding Campaign, and attack'd *John* with a powerful Army in the beginning of the Summer. *John* behav'd himſelf with a Courage anſwerable to his Reputation, but was betray'd by his Army, who ſhamefully forſook him, and thereby conſtrain'd him to fly to the Sea-Coaſts, where he took Ship and ſet Sail for *Conſtantinople*, leaving the *Saracens* to recover all that had been reconquer'd from 'em the Year before. In the mean time the Principal Officers of the *Roman* Army began to reflect on their late Conduct, for which they expected to be call'd to a ſevere Account by *Leontius*, and therefore

A. D. 697.

fore prepar'd to divert the Puniſhment due to their Cowardice, by Treaſon: Accordingly, after a ſhort Conſultation among themſelves, they made choiſe of *Apſimar*, one of *Leontius* his Generals, at that time in the Army, and declar'd him Emperor. *Apſimar*, who, after his Promotion, exchang'd his Name for that of *Tiberius*, readily accepted of the Dignity, and maintain'd it almoſt ſeven Years; for having been one of the firſt in the late Mutiny, he thought he could not better ſecure himſelf, than by being the foremoſt in the Revolt. So ſoon as he had aſſum'd the Imperial Ornaments he proceeded directly towards *Conſtantinople*, to make ſure of the Imperial City. He held a cloſe Intelligence with ſome within the Town, who ſeiz'd on *Leontius*, and open'd the Gates to the Uſurper. *Tiberius*, having cut off *Leontius* his Noſe, confin'd him under a ſtrict Guard to a Monaſtery in *Dalmatia*, baniſh'd all his Friends and Relations, and ſeiz'd on all their Eſtates.

Apſimar *declar'd Emperor by the Mutinous Army.*

A. D. 698.

After this he declar'd his Brother *Heraclius* General of all his Forces, and ſent him into *Cappadocia*, there to have an Eye upon the *Saracens*: He, taking his Advantage of ſome Diviſions which proceeded to Acts of Hoſtility among 'em, invaded their Territories, and pierc'd into *Syria* as far as *Samoſata*, which he took, and kill'd, according to the Hiſtorians, no leſs than two hundred thouſand of their Men. Notwithſtanding which mighty Defeat, that Nation ſtill improv'd in Strength and Power, as if ſo great a Loſs had hardly been felt among 'em: For *Abdella*, one of their Generals, march'd the next Year with a numerous Army into *Armenia*, where he took *Mopſueſtia*, which he fortify'd, and ſecur'd with a good Garriſon, after which he recover'd the greateſt part of that Province. Thus the War was carry'd on with various Succeſs, in which however the *Romans*

Cedrenus. Theophanes.

*mans* for the most part had the Advantage. For *Azar*, invading *Cilicia* with ten thousand Men, was overthrown by *Heraclius*, who kill'd a great Number of the *Saracens*, and sent the rest in Chains to *Constantinople*. The News of this Defeat encourag'd the Nobility of *Armenia* to rise up against their new Masters, of whom they kill'd all they could find in that Country, and sent to *Apsimar*, demanding his Assistance against the Infidels; but *Moamed* came with seasonable Supplies, where, after some bloody Encounters on both sides, he repair'd the late Loss his Countrymen had sustain'd; and having seiz'd on the Authors of the Sedition, burnt 'em all alive. This encourag'd them once more to Invade *Cilicia*, which they did the Year following, and were once more overthrown by *Heraclius*, who forc'd 'em to retire with the Loss of twelve thousand *Arabians*.

A. D. 701.

Whilst *Apsimar*'s Lieutenants were thus fighting in Defence of the Empire abroad, he was busily employ'd in securing his Authority at home; knowing how doubtful his Title was, he took care to remove all those who he imagin'd were Ambitious of the Purple, and was so jealous in his Scrutiny, that he banish'd *Philippicus*, a Patrician, who had been very instrumental in his Promotion, for no other Reason, but because he dreamt he was overshadow'd by an Eagle, which *Apsimar*'s Fears interpreted, portended to him the Empire. Having, as he thought, sufficiently secur'd himself against any Pretenders at home, he began to cast his Eyes upon *Justinian*, who, tho' Defenceless and an Exile, presum'd to declare he was sure he should live once more to recover his former Dignity; whereupon *Apsimar* prevail'd with the Inhabitants of the Country, either to kill him, or send him bound to him. *Justinian*, being inform'd of their Intentions, got out of the Monastery by the help of his

his Friends, and fled to the *Chagan* or King of the *Avari*, who at firſt receiv'd him very honourably, and gave him his Siſter *Theodora* in Marriage; but was in the end ſo corrupted by *Apſimar*'s great Preſents, and larger Promiſes, that he undertook either to deliver him up to his Officers alive, or to ſend him his Head. This intended Treachery was reveal'd by one of his Servants to *Theodora*, and by her diſcover'd to her Husband, who kill'd thoſe who had been inſtructed to deſtroy him, and fled by Sea to *Trebelin*, King of the *Bulgarians*, carrying with him, where-ever he remov'd, a ſevere Senſe of the Injuries he had receiv'd; for being ſeiz'd by a violent Storm in his Paſſage thro' the *Straits*, and in great Danger to be loſt, ſome of his Friends adviſ'd and beſought him to make a Vow to Almighty God, to forgive his Enemies, if ever, in Mercy to his Sufferings, he ſhould reſtore him to his Throne: He reply'd ſternly, *Let God drown me this Moment, rather than oblige me to renounce my Revenge.* *Trebelin* receiv'd him with an unfeign'd Friendſhip, and promis'd him, upon his firſt Requeſt, to ſupply him with moſt powerful Aſſiſtance: Accordingly he rais'd a very great Army, with which *Juſtinian* ſeiz'd on *Thrace*, and laid cloſe Siege to *Conſtantinople*; where at firſt he met with many Repulſes, and more Indignities from the Inhabitants, who, preſuming upon the Strength of the City, and that it would be impoſſible for him to take it, revil'd him from the Walls, and moſt arrogantly affronted him. But after he had been three Days before the Town, ſome of his Men got in by means of an Aquæduct, which the Beſieg'd had forgot or neglected to ſecure; of which, as ſoon as *Apſimar* was inform'd, and that the City was loſt, he fled with all his Treaſure to *Apollonea*, leaving *Juſtinian* to reap the Fruits of his Succeſs, which made him once more Maſter of the Imperial City and the Empire. A. D. 704.

*Juſti-*

Juſtinian reſtor'd.

*Juſtinian*, being thus reſtor'd to his former Dignity, diſmiſs'd *Trebelin* with many Royal Gifts, and beſtow'd on him, in return for his great Service, a Part of the *Roman* Dominions, call'd afterwards *Zagoria*; purſuing *Apſimar*, who fled with *Leontius*, once the Rival of his Power, but now the Companion of his Misfortunes, he overtook them, and *Heraclius*, *Apſimar*'s Brother: The two former he led in Triumph about the City, and ſet his Feet ignominiouſly upon their Necks in the *Circus*, whilſt the inconſtant Multitude repeated with loud Acclamations that Verſe of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Thou ſhalt tread upon the Lion and Adder; the young Lion and the Dragon ſhalt thou trample under Feet:* after which inſulting Pageantry, he commanded their Heads, and that of *Heraclius*, to be cut off. As for *Callinicus*, the Patriarch, who had ſo vigorouſly oppos'd him, he pluck'd his Eyes out and baniſh'd him to *Rome*; therein, as an Aggravation of his Miſery, conſtraining him to beg his Bread of the Pope, who he knew was his declar'd Enemy.

Thus was *Juſtinian* reſtor'd to his former Greatneſs by the particular Favour of Fortune; and it may be now expected, that having learn'd a new Leſſon from his Calamities, he would govern for the future like a Prince whom Experience had inſtructed to apply his Power to the Benefit of his Subjects: But we ſhall find him one of thoſe whoſe Perverſeneſs of the Will is too inveterate, either to be meliorated by the Sun-ſhine of Proſperity, or ſoften'd by the rough Hand of Adverſity. From bad he grew worſe; and tho' he inſolently bragg'd that he had deliver'd the State from the Bondage of Tyrants and Uſurpers, he was himſelf the greateſt Tyrant in it. So ſoon as he thought himſelf confirm'd in the Throne, he rag'd with an implacable Fury againſt great Multitudes of Citizens and Soldiers, depopulating, in the Heat of his Revenge, whole

whole Provinces at once. Ungratefully forgetting how much beyond all Acknowledgment he had been oblig'd by *Trebelin*, King of the *Bulgarians*, he most shamefully broke the League concluded between 'em, in which his Success was answerable to his Ingratitude; for his Men presuming too much upon their Numbers, grew confident and careless, thereby exposing themselves to the Attempts of their more cautious Enemies, who watching their Advantage, fell with a regular Courage upon 'em, and totally routed 'em; after which they press'd the Emperor so closely in his Retrenchments, that after he had lost the greatest part of his Army he was forc'd to fly, with a few of his Followers, in a light Vessel to *Constantinople*, leaving his Camp and the Residue of his Soldiers to the Mercy of the *Bulgarians*. A. D. 705.

This Miscarriage, instead of humbling the unworthy Emperor, made him more haughty and revengeful: He remember'd the Attempts some of the Inhabitants of the *Bosphorus* had form'd against his Life during his Exile, and that made him resolve upon the Ruin and Destruction of the whole Country at once: Accordingly he rigg'd out all the Ships he had that were fit for Service, on which he embark'd his Army, with express Orders to kill all the Inhabitants of those Parts, Women as well as Men, and the innocent as well as the guilty. *His Cruelty.*

These Orders were executed with the same Barbarity they were given; for some of those miserable Wretches were roasted alive, others they cast into the Sea, and those who met with more Mercy at the Hands of their Butchers, were put to the Sword, only the Children were spar'd in respect to their Age; at which the Emperor was exceedingly enrag'd, and in great Fury commanded 'em to be brought by Sea to *Constantinople*, there to be massacred in his Sight. Accordingly they were, to the A. D. 710.

Number of seventy three thousand, put on board several Ships prepar'd for that Purpose, but were all lost in a Storm, to the great Displeasure of the Tyrant, who thought his Vengeance imperfectly satisfy'd. Those who still surviv'd his cruel Resentment, understanding he was preparing for a second Expedition, and that he was resolv'd to root out the Residue of there unhappy Nation, fled for Succour to their Neighbours the *Chazari*, by whose Assistance they destroy'd several of the Emperor's Troops; but seeing there was no end of their Miseries, and detesting *Justinian*'s, execrable Inhumanity, they renounc'd their Allegiance to him, and saluted *Philippicus* Emperor, who was at that time an Exile in *Cephalenia*, whither he had been sent by *Apsimar*, as we observ'd before. This Example was follow'd by the Tyrant's own Forces, who having in several Encounters been defeated by the *Chazari*, and knowing the implacable Humour of *Justinian*, thought they had no way left to justify their Conduct, but siding with those against whom they had committed such outrageous Hostilities, upon no other account but to gratify his brutish Passions.

PHILIPPICUS.

A. D. 711. *Philippicus* finding himself proclaim'd Emperor by the unanimous Consent of two powerful Armies, and having first receiv'd from 'em the Oath of Allegiance, march'd directly towards *Constantinople*; into which, after some Opposition, he was receiv'd. *Tiberius*, the Son of *Justinian* by the Empress *Theodora* lately deceas'd, was slain in the Presence of *Anastasia*, his Grandmother; and *Justinian* himself was seiz'd shortly after by *Elias*, a Prince of the *Chazari*, who cut off his Head and presented it to *Philippicus*, and *Philippicus* sent it to *Rome*. This was the deserv'd End of that furious implacable Monster, in the eighth Year after his Restoration; And from the Account the Reader has had of him, he must readily allow him to have been cruel and relentless

relentleſs to the laſt Degree, and ſo devoted to his Revenge, the Effects of a weak unmanly Temper, that he ſacrific'd whole Nations in the Purſuit of it, and at length fell a Sacrifice to it himſelf. He left the Empire in a more diſtracted Condition than any of his Predeceſſors had done before him, which was owing wholly to his Heat and Intemperance; ſo that for ſome time hereafter we ſhall meet with Emperors that were more like Annual Magiſtrates in a Country Borough, than the Sovereign Princes of a potent State. And yet ſo deluding a thing is Empire, that they were contented to ſacrifice their Honour, their Conſciences, and what is almoſt as extraordinary, the ſincere Enjoyments of an innocent private Life, to be the firſt Man in a diſtracted Common-wealth, loſing at the ſame time what with ſo much Earneſtneſs they contended to gain, ſuffering the *Saracens* to gain inſenſibly upon 'em, and oppreſs the *Romans*, who by their own Diviſions were render'd weak and defenceleſs.

The News of *Juſtinian*'s Death was receiv'd with great Conſternation in *Rome*, eſpecially by the Pope, to whom he had appear'd well inclin'd, and had done ſeveral Things in behalf of that See; and he knew too well that he was not to expect the like Favours from his Succeſſor *Philippicus*, who was a declar'd *Monothelite*, and immediately upon his Promotion had expell'd *Cyrus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and advanc'd a Monk, who had formerly foretold him of his exalted State, and promis'd him now a long and happy Reign, upon Condition he aboliſh'd the ſixth General Council held at *Conſtantinople*, and reſtor'd the *Monothelites*; to all which he readily conſented: ſo that in a Council ſummon'd for that Purpoſe, all the Acts of the preceding Council were revok'd, one ſingle Operation of the Will in Jeſus Chriſt was enforc'd to be believ'd, and an Account of all that had paſs'd in this new Council

Philippicus *declares for the* Monothelites.

were ſent to *Rome* for the Pope's Approbation, with Orders to oblige him to comply. *Conſtantine* was at that time Pope of *Rome*, who in a Synod of the *Italian* Biſhops vehemently inveigh'd againſt *Philippicus*, who did not only endeavour to renew the ancient Hereſies, with which the Church had been divided, but aim'd at farther Innovations; being ſo declar'd an Enemy to God and his Saints, that he had remov'd all Images not only out of *Conſtantinople*, and the Churches in the Eaſt, but commanded the like to be done in *Rome* it ſelf. Upon this a Sentence of Condemnation was drawn up againſt all ſuch Innovators, who refus'd a Veneration to the Images of Saints; at the ſame time *Philippicus* was declar'd an Heretick, condemn'd, and adjudg'd unworthy and uncapable of the Imperial Dignity.

*The Queſtion relating to the Worſhip of Images.*

A. D. 713. It will not be improper to obſerve in this Place, that till now, tho' Images had been permitted in ſeveral Churches, yet it was not done by the expreſs Order of any Synod, much leſs was any Religious Service as yet requir'd to be paid to 'em. *Conſtantine* was the firſt who preſum'd to ordain it in this Synod; and from this time forward the Biſhops of *Rome* not only eſtabliſh'd the Worſhip of Images, but, in Imitation of this Pope, took advantage of this Opportunity to ſhake off their Obedience to the Emperor, and to advance themſelves above him. From this time forward we find no more Proceedings form'd againſt the *Monothelites*, but the Popes of *Rome* directed all their Force and Authority againſt thoſe who were for removing all Images out of the Churches, and deny'd to pay 'em any Religious Veneration. Theſe were branded with the Name of Hereticks, and as ſuch declar'd uncapable of any Earthly Dignity, according to the Maxims which began then to be in uſe in the Church of *Rome*.

Theſe Diſputes between the Pope and the Emperor prov'd fatal not only to *Philippicus* but to his Succeſſors, and in general to the whole Empire of the Eaſt; for the Popes had uſually the Advantage in the Quarrel, which was continu'd more or leſs ever after, and ſerv'd to enlarge the Authority of the *Roman* See, and render'd the *Italians* leſs affected to the Emperor: All which made way for the Reeſtabliſhment of the Empire in the Weſt, which was effected by the politick Popes, who thought they could more eaſily contend with a divided than united Power.

Whilſt *Philippicus* was thus buſying himſelf in Matters relating to Religion, the *Bulgarians* invaded *Thrace*, and made an Irruption up as far as the Golden Gate of the City; and having kill'd and taken Captive great Numbers of People, they return'd without any Oppoſition. Theſe Calamities render'd *Philippicus* ſo diſagreeable to the People, that ſeveral *Thracians* broke into the Palace one Day whilſt he was aſleep after Dinner, and having pluck'd out his Eyes, before it was known abroad what they were doing, the next Morning being *Eaſter*-Day, they inform'd the People (met together in the Great Church) of what they had done, whereupon *Anaſtaſius* was crown'd Emperor by the univerſal Conſent of the Inhabitants.

V. If the Corruptions of the former Governments had not hung too heavy upon the State, *Anaſtaſius* the Second had prov'd an excellent Emperor, and in all probability had govern'd the Empire with much Prudence and Succeſs; for he was a Learned Man, and had from his Youth been converſant in publick Buſineſs, and the Management of the greateſt Affairs: But it happen'd at this time in the Body Politick as it often doth to particular Perſons, where the malignant Humours are ſo predominant ANASTASIUS II.

dominant as to obſtruct the Operation of Phyſick; Men had been ſo accuſtom'd to tranſgreſs, and eſcape with Impunity, that a due Execution of the Laws was look'd on as an Innovation, and regular Adminiſtration eſteem'd a Tyranny.

*Anaſtaſius*, ſo ſoon as he was acknowledg'd and crown'd Emperor, made it his chiefeſt Care to avoid thoſe Rocks on which his Predeceſſors had fatally ſplit; he knew the Honour and Proſperity of the Empire depended upon the Peace and Unity of the Church, and therefore took Care by his Letters to the Pope, to aſſure him and all the World that he was well affected to the Catholick Faith, and that he was reſolv'd to ſee all his Subjects pay the Obedience that was due to the preceding General Councils. He knew likewiſe the Frontiers were ill guarded, and the Army in general in great need of a thorough Reformation; for which Reaſon he ſent ſuch as he had great Cauſe to confide in, to command upon the Frontiers; and having levy'd freſh Forces both of Horſe and Foot, he declar'd *Leo*, an *Iſaurian* by Birth, a Man of great Capacity in Military Affairs, his General; commanding him to march to the Frontiers of *Syria*, from whence the *Saracens* made their Incurſions, and infeſted *Aſia the Leſs*. At the ſame time he rigg'd out a very powerful Fleet, with which he propos'd to re-conquer *Egypt*, and re-unite it to the Empire.

A. D. 714. The Fleet ſail'd accordingly, attended with the Prayers of all thoſe who wiſh'd well to their Country, and had an Eſteem for the preſent Government. Their firſt Attempts were upon *Alexandria*, where the Conſternation the Inhabitants were in by far exceeded the Damage they receiv'd; for the Imperialiſts were forc'd to raiſe the Siege for want of warlike Proviſions, as they pretended, and after two or three fruitleſs Aſſaults, retire to their Ships, and ſailing to the Iſle of *Rhodes*, propoſ'd

poſ'd to prepare at that Place, ſuch Neceſſaries as were requiſite for carrying on the Siege. The Emperor being inform'd of their Retreat, was very much diſpleas'd, and ſending 'em ſuch Proviſions of War as he thought were requiſite, commanded 'em to return to the Service, at the ſame time ſeverely reproving the ſuperior Officers for their ill Management: But Military Diſcipline declin'd in that Age, and grew as corrupt as the other Sciences; ſo that inſtead of obeying *Anaſtaſius*, they revolted againſt him, and forc'd *Theodoſius*, a Receiver of the Revenue, to accept of the Purple. *Cedrenus* makes no mention of the *Alexandrian* Expedition, but ſaith, *Anaſtaſius*, being inform'd the *Saracens* were making great Naval Preparations upon the Coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and deſign'd from thence to beſiege *Conſtantinople*, rigg'd out a ſtrong Fleet, with Orders to ſail and burn the Enemy's Navy; but that a Diſſention ariſing among the Soldiers, they kill'd the Admiral, and dreading the Puniſhment due to ſo horrible a Fact, declar'd *Anaſtaſius* unworthy of the Empire, and nam'd *Theodoſius* for his Succeſſor; that *Theodoſius* being an honeſt Man, tho' of a mean Extraction, hid himſelf for ſome time, but was forc'd in the End to accept of the Sovereignty. After which he return'd at the Head of his Army to beſiege *Conſtantinople*, where *Anaſtaſius* defended himſelf for ſeveral Months with an extraordinary Valour, but was at length ſo ſtreighten'd both by Sea and Land, that he was forc'd to fly to *Nice* and *Bithynia*, whither *Theodoſius* purſu'd him, took him, and having order'd him to be ſhav'd, ſent him in the Habit of a Monk, as an Exile, to *Theſſalonica*, after he had enjoy'd the Title of Emperor near two Years.

*The Army revolts, and declares* Theodoſius *Emperor.*

A. D. 715. Theodoſius III.

*Theodoſius*, the new Emperor, began his Adminiſtration with reforming ſeveral Abuſes in Church and State, which had crept in during the Reign

of his Predeceſſors, and by his Behaviour gave the World a Promiſe of a Juſt and Generous Prince; but the Corruptions of the Times were too ſtrong for him to oppoſe 'em, and he miſcarry'd in his Attempts, more to the Prejudice of the Empire than his own Diſhonour. *Leo*, whom the late Emperor *Anaſtaſius* had ſent General of his Forces into the Eaſt, hearing of his Dethronement, refus'd to ſubmit to *Theodoſius*, in which he was aſſiſted by *Artavaſdes*, an *Armenian*, and a Man of the greateſt Intereſt in that Country, to whom he had promis'd his Daughter in Marriage. Theſe two united their Forces, and march'd againſt *Theodoſius*, pretending at firſt that it was to reſtore *Anaſtaſius*; but *Leo* was ſhortly after perſwaded to aſſume the Imperial Purple, having firſt defeated *Theodoſius* his Son, near *Nicomedia*, where he took him and moſt of his Father's Friends Priſoners; after which he march'd on to *Chryſopolis*, being univerſally acknowledg'd Emperor in his March. *Theodoſius*, ſeeing it in vain to contend, ſent *Germanus*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to *Leo*, with an Offer to reſign the Imperial Purple, which had been forc'd upon him againſt his Will, on Condition he would grant him his Life; which being agreed to, both he and his Son were ſhav'd, and enter'd into Orders. So that now there were three Emperors living at the ſame time, and all three Depos'd, *Philippicus*, *Anaſtaſius*, and *Theodoſius*; the laſt of which voluntarily reſign'd, and therein may be ſaid to have choſen the better Part, and left the worſe for *Leo*.

*Dethron'd by* Leo.

LEO II. *Leo* was crown'd with much Solemnity at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty fifth of *March* the ſame Year, by the Hands of *Germanus* the Patriarch, having firſt made a Confeſſion of his Faith, which was Orthodox, and in which he promis'd inviolably to perſevere, and to defend it. He was ſcarce con-

confirm'd in the Empire before *Maſalmas*, or *Maſalnias*, a Prince of the *Saracens*, who had been very inſtrumental in his Promotion, broke with great Violence into *Thrace*, where he committed unſpeakable Cruelties; and, having waſted the Country, ſate down with his Army before *Conſtantinople* on the fourteenth of *April*; and after he had block'd it up for ſeveral Months together, he was join'd by *Solyman* the Sultan, who came with a very powerful Fleet from *Damaſcus*, promiſing nothing leſs to himſelf than the Spoils of the Imperial City, which was now aſſaulted on every ſide, both by Sea and Land. *Leo*, unſhaken at the Approach of ſo powerful an Army, prepar'd in the beſt manner he could for the Defence of the City: He rigg'd out all the Ships he had in his Arſenal, which he ſupply'd with the ableſt Seamen in his Dominions, and by means of the Wild-fire formerly invented, deſtroy'd all the Ships of the *Saracens*: At the ſame time he ſally'd out in a regular Order upon their Land-Forces, and conſtrain'd 'em, after they had loſt the Flower of their Army, to raiſe the Siege and return home. A. D. 717. *Defeats the* Saracens.

The King of the *Saracens*, ſeeing himſelf thus defeated, and his Forces broken by the Arms of the Emperor, prepar'd, by way of Revenge, to perſecute all the Chriſtians that were in his Dominions, forbidding 'em the Exerciſe of their Religion, interdicting them the Uſe of Wine, and taking from 'em the Liberty of Witneſſing againſt a *Saracen* in Matters of Law, and promiſing great Rewards, Exemptions, and Indulgencies to thoſe who would blaſpheme their Saviour, and embrace the Doctrine of *Mahomet*. This Edict, ſupported by the Ignorance and Depravity of the Age in which it was publiſh'd, ſeduc'd great Numbers of People, who abandon'd the Faith, and ſubſcrib'd to the Irreligion of their inſulting Maſters. A. D. 718.

The

The ſame Year *Sergius*, Præfect of *Sicily*, obſerving the great Preparations the *Saracens* were forming againſt the Emperor, and conceiving it impoſſible for him to reſiſt 'em, declar'd one *Baſilius*, the Son of *Onomagulus*, Emperor, changing his Name into that of *Tiberius*. *Leo* ſent *Paul*, an Officer of the Houſhold, againſt the Uſurper, who coming into the Iſland, readily reſtor'd it to the Emperor's Obedience; and having cut off *Tiberius* his Head, he forc'd *Sergius* to fly for Safety into *Italy*, and throw himſelf into the Protection of the *Lombards*. About this time *Conſtantine*, Sirnam'd *Copronymus*, for that he bewray'd the Font at his Baptiſm, was born, to the great Joy of *Leo*, and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*. *Paulus Diaconus*, who upon all Occaſions expreſſes a great Averſion to that Prince upon the account of his Enmity to Images, tells us, That the Patriarch, obſerving what the Infant had done at his Baptiſm, foretold he would in time prove a great Plague and Enemy to the Church; tho' it may eaſily be prov'd that this Tale was forg'd a long time after the Child had been Baptiz'd.

The Joy the Birth of this Prince occaſion'd at *Conſtantinople* was hardly over, before *Leo* was threaten'd with a freſh Invaſion. For *Anaſtaſius* the Second, who had been baniſh'd to *Theſſalonica*, began to entertain ſome Hopes of his Reſtauration, being encourag'd to it by the Biſhop of the Place. In order to which he eſcap'd to *Tribelin*, King of the *Bulgarians*, from whom he obtain'd a conſiderable Army, with which he march'd into *Thrace*, and approach'd the Imperial City, upon a Preſumption that the Inhabitants would open the Gates, and receive him in; inſtead of which, when the *Bulgarians* ſaw they defended themſelves reſolutely againſt him, and that *Leo* was raiſing a numerous Army, which it was impoſſible for 'em to reſiſt,

ſiſt, they ſeiz'd on the unfortunate *Anaſtaſius*, and deliver'd him and the Biſhop to *Leo*, who immediately order'd 'em both to be put to Death.

*Leo*, having thus diverted a Storm that threaten'd his Deſtruction, ſolemnly Crown'd his Son *Conſtantine*, and declar'd him Emperor with him, as the readieſt means to prevent any ſuch Attempts for the future, and ſecure the Empire to his Poſterity. After which Solemnity he march'd once more with his Army againſt the *Saracens*, who, having been often repuls'd by the Emperor in the Eaſt, reſolv'd now to try their Fortunes in the Weſt, where they committed ſeveral Piracies, and grievouſly infeſted the *Sicilian* and *Italian* Coaſts; after which they ſeiz'd on *Sardinia*, where they rag'd with unſpeakable Barbarity, abſtaining neither from Churches, Monaſteries, nor the Sepulchres of the Saints. Having reſtrain'd theſe Infidels, who ſhortly after broke out into Contentions among themſelves; *Leo* from this time forward labour'd with great Zeal to remove Images out of the Church, being juſtly ſcandaliz'd at the great Veneration that was paid 'em, and in all likelihood provok'd to it by *Gregory* the Second, Pope of *Rome*, who, ſuſpecting the Emperor was diſaffected to his Perſon, rebell'd againſt him, and entering into an Alliance with the *French*, ſtopp'd the Revenue that was ordinarily rais'd for the Emperor out of *Italy*. Theſe Diſputes, as they very much weaken'd the Emperor's Intereſt in the Weſt, ſo they ſerv'd to exalt the Authority of the Popes, who on every Occaſion took care to enlarge and extend their Power. *Leo* is ſaid before this to have ſent *Paul*, Exarch of *Ravenna*, into *Italy*, with expreſs Orders to ſeize upon the Pope, and put him to Death; the Execution of which, *Paul*, upon his Arrival in *Italy*, committed to *Baſilius*, and ſome others. But the Pope had ſo good Intelligence, that

A. D. 720.

*The Pope rebels againſt the Emperor.*

that the thing was ſeaſonably diſcover'd, and *Baſilius* and his Accomplices were put to Death. Shortly after this, *Leo*, who was reſolv'd, if poſſible, to deſtroy *Gregory*, ſent freſh Inſtructions to *Paul*, with Orders at leaſt to Depoſe him, and cauſe another to be elected in his room, if he could not proceed ſo far as to take away his Life. But the Pope, being inform'd of theſe Practices againſt him, thought his Life and Liberty lay at Stake, and therefore call'd the *Lombards* in to his Aſſiſtance, who, marching with great Alacrity to his Aid, eaſily defeated the Army the Exarch had ſent to ſecure *Rome* and ſeize on the Perſon of the Pope.

It is very likely that theſe Orders of the Emperor againſt the Perſon and Dignity of *Gregory* are forg'd by the great Champions for the Papacy, the better to colour over his Rebellion and unjuſt Uſurpation. For as yet the Emperor had no reaſon to be incens'd, the Quarrel relating to Images being not begun between 'em 'till ſome time after, as appears from the Pope's own Letter written to *Urſus*, Duke of *Heraclia*, the Year following; ſo that without enquiring any farther for the Reaſons which rais'd in the Pope ſo great an Averſion to *Leo*, we may conclude that the Pope began the War without any Provocation, and the better to carry it on, drew *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, into the Quarrel. For ſeveral Years before, the Exarchs and *Lombards* had preſerv'd a friendly Correſpondence between each other. But *Luitprand* obſerving the Averſion the Pope and the *Romans* had for the Exarch (who, in all probability, gave the firſt Grounds of Diſcontent,) and the Emperor, he thought he had now a favourable Opportunity of enlarging his Dominions, and adding to his Hereditary Honours the Glory of conquering the Exarchate. Upon which Conſiderations he very readily enter'd into the War; and having

ving rais'd a very powerful Army, compos'd as well of *Romans* as *Lombards*, he laid close Siege to *Ravenna*, where the Exarch *Paul*, who little expected such a Surprise, receiv'd him so courageously, that he forc'd him to retire. *Luitprand*, despairing of Success against the Town, and unwilling to hazard and weaken his Army in any fruitless Attempts, broke up and remov'd to *Chiassi*, which, being ill prepar'd for a Siege, he easily took and plunder'd. The Loss of this Place extreamly alarm'd the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*; whereupon *Luitprand* taking the Advantage of their Fears, return'd back, and so tir'd the Garrison and Townsmen by his frequent Assaults, that *Paul*, in despair of any Succours, drew off privately, and left the Town to the Discretion of the Inhabitants, who being unable to defend it, it was taken by Assault and plunder'd. The *Lombards* found in it many Rarities of Antiquity, among the rest the Brazen Statue of an Emperor on Horseback, which *Luitprand* remov'd to *Pavia*, where it continues to this Day.

Ravenna *taken by the* Lombards.

*Ravenna* being thus taken, the rest of the Cities depending upon it, fell of Course into the Hands of the *Lombards*; so that *Luitprand*, being hereby become Master of the Exarchate, erected it into a Dutchy, and made his Grandson *Hildebrand*, Duke of it, who, being an Infant, had *Peredeus*, Duke of *Vicenza*, assign'd him for his Governor. A. D. 725.

*Gregory*, having in this manner kindled up a War between *Paul* and the *Lombards*, sate still as an idle Spectator; he was willing to have the Exarch chastis'd, but not desirous to see the Power and Dominion of the *Lombards* encrease; he had no great Kindness for the Emperor, and it was his Interest to wish both Sides weaken'd, that his own Authority, which already began to gain Ground every Day, might make a greater Progress in *Italy*. He began now to tremble at *Luitprand*'s amazing

amazing Progreſs in the War, and thought it high time, if poſſible, to put a ſtop to his growing Greatneſs, leſt the Spirit he had rais'd ſhould fall upon him at laſt, and he ſhould be the Author of his own Deſtruction. Whereupon he writ a very preſſing Letter to *Urſis*, Duke of *Heraclia*, and the *Venetians*, in which he conjur'd 'em to aſſiſt his worthy Son the Exarch, and endeavour to reſtore the Exarchate to the Imperial Service of the Lords his Sons, *Leo* and *Conſtantine* his Son, Emperors. *Urſus* and the *Venetians* had great Reaſon to be concern'd at the Growth of ſo potent a Neighbour, and therefore rais'd a very conſiderable Army, pretending it was deſign'd to ſerve the Emperor againſt the *Saracens*. *Paul* on the other ſide rais'd all the Forces he was able, and, having join'd the *Venetians*, they fell upon *Ravenna* both by Sea and Land. *Peredus* defended the Town againſt all their Aſſaults for ſome time very courageouſly, but being at length ſlain, the Town was taken, and *Hildebrand* made Priſoner by the *Venetians*; who, having thus recover'd the Exarchate to the Emperor, before *Luitprand* could march from *Pavia* to his Grandſon's Aſſiſtance, return'd home, leaving *Paul* in the full Enjoyment of his Authority.

*and recover'd.*

Theſe Wars, as we obſerv'd before, preceded the Emperor's Edict concerning Images, and very probably haſten'd the Publication of it; for ſhortly after it was publiſh'd by his Order throughout all his Dominions, enjoining his Subjects to break down and remove out of the Churches all the Images of the Saints. At the ſame time he commanded the Pope to ſee his Orders obey'd in all the Parts of his Dioceſe.

Thoſe, who have been the great Defenders of Image Worſhip, have taken great Pains to find out the Motives which induc'd *Leo* to publiſh this Edict. Some of 'em affirming it was done at the Inſti-

Inſtigation of certain *Jews*, who promis'd him a long and proſperous Reign, provided he remov'd Images out of the Church. Others impute it to a Repreſentation of *Aumar*, Caliph of *Damaſcus*, who accus'd the Chriſtians in his Dominions of Idolatry, by reaſon of the Religious Worſhip paid to Images, and their Invocation of the Saints. But as neither the *Jews* or *Mahometans* entertain'd ſo friendly Thoughts of the Chriſtians, as to be concern'd in what Religious Points they diſſented from them, and in what Particulars they offended God Almighty, ſo on the other Hand it is moſt certain, *Aumar* was dead ſeven Years before the Publication of this Edict; and on the other ſide it's very unlikely *Leo* ſhould liſten to the *Jews*, a People he deteſted, and whom he was very zealous to extirpate, as it appear'd in ſeveral Inſtances of his Reign before the time of this Edict. However, ſince the Thing was ſo very conformable to the Law of God, *Leo* is to be commended for it, whether he did it freely of himſelf, or was induc'd to it by the *Jews* or *Saracens*.

*Gregory*, having receiv'd the Emperor's Letters, very induſtriouſly oppos'd the Edict, and in his Anſwer to *Leo* endeavours to convince him by ſuch Arguments as could not but confirm him in his Deſign, concluding all with aſſerting that *Matters relating to Religion in no meaſure belonged to the Emperor but him, who had the ſole Power of maintaining and continuing the Faith, which had been left him by the Fathers.*

Theſe Letters of *Gregory* to the Emperor were follow'd by other Circular ones, directed to the People of *Rome*, *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, and to the *Venetians*, in which he repreſented the Emperor as an Heretick, and declar'd that if he perſiſted in his Hereſie he ought to be abandon'd by all Chriſtian People, ſince he voluntarily ſeparated himſelf from the Body of the Catholick Church. In

A. D. 726.

*A Tumult rais'd at* Constantinople *upon the account of Images.*

In the mean time the Emperor did not only publiſh his Edict, but took Care to have it put in Execution, beginning at *Conſtantinople*, where his Officers were employ'd to pull down the Images throughout the City; at which the Inhabitants, who had been accuſtom'd to Images in their Churches, were ſo offended, that they ran in a tumultuous manner to the Palace, where they kill'd ſeveral of the Emperor's Houſhold, and were hardly reſtrain'd from farther Miſchief by the Guards of *Leo*, who put ſeveral of the moſt forward among 'em to Death.

When the Pope was inform'd of theſe Proceedings at *Conſtantinople*, he grew extreamly enrag'd, and publiſh'd a Decree, in which he declar'd that Leo *ought not only to be Excommunicated, but no longer to be acknowledg'd as Emperor; for which Reaſon he abſolv'd and releas'd all his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity, and forbad 'em to pay him any farther Tribute:* Whereupon the People of *Rome*, *Ravenna* and *Campania* threw off their Obedience, and ſeizing on the Magiſtrates that had been appointed over 'em by the Emperor, in a cruel manner maſſacred 'em. At *Ravenna* they ſlew *Paul*, the Exarch, and pluck'd out the Eyes of *Peter*, the Governor of *Rome*; in *Campania* they put *Exhileratus* and his Son to Death, raging with equal Fury in other Places, and ſubſtituting others of their own Election in the room of thoſe they had maſſacred or expell'd. This is a brief Account of the Pope's Meaſures in that Conjuncture, and what was done purſuant to 'em, as they are related by the great Friends of the Papacy themſelves; which muſt of neceſſity raiſe the Indignation of every conſiderate unbiaſs'd Reader againſt this *Gregory*, who upon the Pretence of Hereſie, preſum'd to diveſt an Emperor of his Right of Sovereignty, to abſolve his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance,

ance, and ſtir 'em up to Rebellion, and moſt horrible unnatural Murders: By which it's evident the Pope laid hold of this Opportunity, and oppos'd the Emperor's Edict for no other purpoſe but to withdraw himſelf from his Obedience, and render himſelf Maſter of *Rome* and the Exarchate; for the *Romans* having kill'd their Governor, as we obſerv'd before, would acknowledge no other Sovereign but the Pope himſelf; which Example was follow'd by almoſt thirty other Cities, who revolted from the Emperor, and ſwore Allegiance to the Pope. Of this when *Leo* was inform'd, he immediately ſent away *Eutychius*, a Patrician, to be his Exarch in *Ravenna*, and provide in the beſt manner he could for the Diſorders in *Italy*; where *Eutychius* being arriv'd at the Head of a powerful Army, he earneſtly courted the Friendſhip of *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, as the moſt effectual way to reduce the Pope to Reaſon; who, in the mean time, thunder'd out his *Anathema's* againſt the Exarch, and prepar'd to oppoſe him.

*The Pope uſurps a Sovereign Power in* Rome *and other Places.*

*Traſimond*, Duke of *Spoleto*, had about this time revolted, and taken up Arms againſt *Luitprand*, which made the King the more inclinable to enter into an Alliance with the Exarch, that with their united Forces they might at once reduce the Pope and chaſtiſe the Duke: Accordingly they both began very vigorouſly to prepare for the War, at which *Traſimond* was ſo terrify'd, that he ſent a ſubmiſſive Meſſage to the King, declaring himſelf ready to obey his Orders, and to renew his Oath of Fidelity; which was perform'd to the entire Satisfaction of *Luitprand*, who receiv'd Hoſtages for his future Obedience, and then gave Orders for his Army to march towards *Rome*: But the Pope, who now found the whole Fury of the War directed againſt him, went accompany'd with ſome of his Clergy and the principal Inhabitants of the

A. D. 729.

City to wait upon the King in his Camp, where he ſo effectually prevail'd upon him, in a pathetick Speech made for that Purpoſe, that *Luitprand* commanded his Forces to retire from the Territories of *Rome*; and tho' the Exarch earneſtly ſollicited him to be juſt to his Promiſe, yet he contented himſelf with being a Mediator between him and the Pope, in which he was ſo ſucceſsful that *Eutychius* ſhortly after enter'd peaceably into *Rome*, where he was very honourably receiv'd.

Thus the Affairs of *Italy* were in ſome meaſure ſettled, tho' the Emperor's Authority was never reſtor'd in *Rome*, and *Leo* was more at leiſure to apply himſelf to the Suppreſſion of Images, and the Settlement of his own Family. *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, could not be brought to be of the ſame Sentiments with the Emperor, whereupon he was depos'd, and *Anaſtaſius* was eſtabliſh'd in his Room; after which the Emperor proceeded with the like Severity againſt the other Biſhops that oppos'd him, for which he is highly accus'd by the Papal Writers. At the ſame time *Leo* marry'd his Son *Conſtantine* to the *Chagan* or King of the *Chazari*'s Daughter, who had been firſt inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, receiving at her Baptiſm the Name of *Irene*, a Word ſignifying *Peace* in the *Greek* Tongue. In the mean time
A. D. 731. *Gregory* the Pope of *Rome* dy'd, and was ſucceeded by another of the ſame Name, who carry'd on the ſame Deſign of uſurping a Sovereign Authority independent of the Emperor, and made uſe of the ſame Means to attain and preſerve it; for immediately after his Aſſumption to the Pontificate he ſent his Letters to *Leo* and his Son *Conſtantine*, in which he earneſtly conjur'd 'em to continue the Worſhip of Images in the Church. Theſe Letters were ſent by a Prieſt, who being come to *Conſtantinople* was afraid to deliver 'em, and ſo return'd back

back with them to *Rome*, for which the Pope in great Rage excommunicated him; and in a Synod ſummon'd at *Rome* he ordain'd, That *whoever for the future, in Contempt of the ancient Cuſtoms of the Catholick Church, preſum'd to aboliſh the Worſhip of Images, ſhould be cut off, as an infected Member, from the Body of Chriſt, and remain excommunicated.* Whereupon the Emperor, who ſaw his Authority was quite aboliſh'd in *Rome* and the Territories belonging to it, that the Pope had uſurp'd it, and put him under the Sentence of Excommunication, mann'd out a Fleet in order to make a Deſcent into *Italy*; but his Ships were all diſpers'd by a Tempeſt which ſeiz'd 'em in the *Adriatick* Sea; ſo that he was forc'd to be ſatisfy'd with confiſcating the Tribute rais'd to the Pope out of *Calabria* and *Sicily*, which was uſually call'd St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, and amounted to no more at that time than half a Talent of Gold and three Talents of Silver. Theſe Conteſts between the Emperor and the Popes, in which the latter were always the Gainers, made *Leo*, towards the latter end of his Reign, grow moroſe and implacable, ſo that he burden'd the Provinces with intolerable Exactions, and laid a Tax upon every Male Child as ſoon as he was born; and tho' in the Beginning of his Reign he had often defeated the *Saracens* and weaken'd their Armies, yet now again they began to infeſt the Eaſtern Provinces, deſtroying whole Towns at once, and returning home with much Booty and great Multitudes of Captives, meeting with none in their Incurſions, that were able to make Head againſt 'em, or put a Stop to their Depredations. After this, and in the laſt Year of *Leo*, a moſt dreadful Earthquake viſited *Conſtantinople*, where many Churches, Monaſteries and private Houſes were overturn'd, and great Numbers of the Inhabitants bury'd in the Ruins, and the Statues of ſeveral of

A. D. 741. *A terrible Earthquake.*

the ancient Emperors were remov'd from their Foundation. The ſame Calamity happen'd at *Nice* and *Nicomedia*, continuing for the Space of eleven Months together, during which People labour'd under daily Apprehenſions; the Sea was ſo much diſturbed that it forſook its uſual Courſe, upon which great Inundations follow'd. Not long after this *Leo* dy'd, having reign'd twenty five Years, two Months, and twenty Days; in which time he gave the World ſeveral remarkable Inſtances of his great Moderation and Valour, having vigorouſly preſerv'd the Empire from the Attempts of the *Saracens*, whom he overcame in many ſignal Engagements. He was a zealous Profeſſor of the Chriſtian Religion, an exact Obſerver of the General Councils, and a declar'd Enemy to Hereticks. Towards the latter end of his Reign, his Averſion to Images render'd him odious to the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, and gave the Popes of *Rome* an Opportunity of uſurping his Authority in his Lifetime, and encourag'd them to wound his Reputation after his Death. The undutiful Oppoſition he met with from them, render'd him peeviſh and impatient; tho' an impartial Poſterity muſt of neceſſity commend him for that which made them and their Partiſans his profeſs'd Enemies, his earneſt Deſire to ſuppreſs Idolatry.

*Leo dies.*

CONSTANTINUS COPRONYMUS. *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Leo*, had for ſeveral Years before been aſſociated with his Father in the Empire, ſo that he was acknowledg'd without any Difficulty as his Succeſſor at his Death, and was Crown'd accordingly on the twenty ſeventh of *June*, reigning from that Day thirty four Years and three Months, tho' not without ſome Oppoſition even in the Beginning of his Reign, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee hereafter. Immediately after his Coronation at *Conſtantinople*, he led an Army againſt the *Saracens*, who were advanc'd into *Aſia*,

*Aſia*, where he overthrew 'em in ſeveral Encounters, and drove 'em home. But whilſt he was buſily employ'd in this War, *Artabazdus*, who had marry'd his Siſter, and had been left behind as Governor of *Conſtantinople* in his Abſence, perſuaded the meaner ſort of People, who had a great Veneration for Images, to riſe in Favour of him, and declare him Emperor. In this he was aſſiſted by the Patriarch *Anaſtaſius*, who had concurr'd with *Leo* in whatever he did relating to Religion, but now on a ſudden chang'd his Sentiments, and declar'd for the Uſurper.

The News of this Inſurrection was quickly carry'd to *Conſtantine* in *Aſia*, notwithſtanding which, and the great Danger his Authority was in at *Conſtantinople*, he was forc'd to continue in that Country with his Army all the Winter, which gave the Uſurper an Opportunity of advancing his Deſigns, and ſtrengthning himſelf in his Uſurpation. He firſt endeavour'd to perſuade the People that *Conſtantine* was dead, after which he ſeiz'd on his Sons, and having forc'd 'em to be ſhav'd, he ſecur'd 'em in Priſon; but knowing the Pretence of *Conſtantine*'s Death would quickly be detected, he perſuaded the Patriarch moſt ſolemnly to ſwear that *Conſtantine* in his Preſence had blaſphem'd our Saviour, declaring that *he did not believe him to be the Son of God, but that he was was born after the ſame manner of his Mother* Mary, *as* Mary *his Mother had born him.* Tho' this Blaſphemy was a meer Calumny, invented by the Patriarch to impoſe upon the People, and ingratiate himſelf with the Tyrant, yet the Multitude were ſo mov'd that they depos'd *Conſtantine*, and with general Acclamations ſaluted *Artabazdus* Emperor. This gave a Beginning to a Civil War in the Eaſt, the Particulars of which are not tranſmitted down by any Authors to Poſterity; tho' they tell us in brief, that it was more conſiderable

than any that had ever happen'd before it. *Artabazdus*, hearing what great Preparations the Emperor made to chaſtiſe him, crown'd *Nicephorus*, his Eldeſt Son, at *Conſtantinople*, and then march'd out to meet him. Having been defeated in ſeveral Encounters he was forc'd to retire back to the City, which he fortify'd in the beſt manner he could, and held it out with much obſtinacy for ſome time againſt the Emperor, tho' he beſieg'd it cloſely both by Sea and Land: But in the end the Inhabitants, being reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, and ready to periſh by Famine, were forc'd to ſurrender. *Artabazdus* and his two Sons were deliver'd up to the Emperor, who commanded their Eyes to be pull'd out, and to be cloſely impriſon'd; after which he proceeded to puniſh thoſe who had been the moſt forward in the Revolt, many of whom he put to Death, and ſuffer'd the City to be plunder'd for ſome Hours by his Soldiers. *Anaſtaſius* the Patriarch he order'd to be whipp'd publickly, and then ſetting him upon an Aſs, with his Face to the Tail, he was carry'd in an ignominious manner through the moſt frequented Streets of the City: Notwithſtanding which this Man was afterwards continued in his Place; being, in all likelihood, a State Weather-Cock, that knew how to temporize and comply with the moſt prevailing Party in all Changes and popular Commotions.

After *Conſtantine* had thus re-inſtated himſelf in the Sovereign Authority, he for ſome time endeavour'd by many Acts of Favour to ingratiate himſelf with the People, to whom he was not very acceptable for his late Cruelty and ſevere Inquiſition; and this he did the rather becauſe he obſerv'd that the *Saracens* were at civil Wars among themſelves, and he had a great mind to make his Advantage of their Diviſions; and was willing to leave his Subjects well affected to him, and adminiſter no Occaſion

caſion for a ſecond Inſurrection in his Abſence. When he had muſter'd his Army he fell upon *Syria*, and having overthrown the Infidels in ſeveral Engagements, he recover'd *Germanicia*, and ſeveral other Places of Importance, which for ſome time had been in the Hands of the *Saracens*; who, notwithſtanding this great Loſs, and tho' they were ſtill threaten'd with greater, continu'd the Quarrels among themſelves, beſieging their Caliph in the Capital City of *Damaſcus*, and forcing him to fly into *Egypt*, where they kill'd him whilſt he was at his Devotions, whereupon their Empire was divided into three Parts; for *Perſia* was deliver'd to *Abudalas*, *Egypt* to *Salym*, and *Syria* to *Abdalla*. This Diviſion very much weaken'd and endanger'd their Nation, 'till at length the Sovereign Authority became united in the Perſon of *Abdalla*. A. D. 746.

The *Saracens* all this while were not more afflicted by the Civil Wars among themſelves, and the Arms of the Empire, than the Empire it ſelf was weaken'd and almoſt deſtroy'd by Earthquakes, which were more frequent and deſtructive about this time than had been known in any Age before. *Syria* and *Paleſtine* were moſt grievouſly ſhaken, innumerable Multitudes of Men periſh'd, together with great Quantities of Buildings both publick and private; the ſame Provinces were viſited with ſo extraordinary a Darkneſs, that for ſeveral Days together, in the Month of *Auguſt*, there was little or no Diſtinction between Day and Night. About the ſame time a furious Peſtilence broke out in *Calabria*, and paſſing through *Sicily* proceeded as far as *Conſtantinople*, where it rag'd with an inſatiate Thirſt for three Years together, inſomuch that the Living were hardly ſufficient to bury the Dead. It was obſervable that they who were ſeiz'd with this Contagion, and were *A ſtrange Plague.*

doom'd to die, had little Croſſes made as it were with Oil imprinted on their Cloaths, and by no Art whatever to be remov'd. Though it was acknowledg'd by all to be the immediate Finger of God Almighty, yet it ſerv'd rather to terrifie than reform Mankind. The World, for the moſt part, was grown too obſtinate to be reclaim'd, tho' ſurrounded with Judgments, which in various Methods denounc'd the Divine Indignation.

A. D. 750. Shortly after theſe publick Calamities, *Leo* the Third was born, who ſucceeded his Father in the Empire, by whom he was proclaim'd *Auguſtus* the Year following. *Conſtantine* had for ſeveral Years together been at Peace with his Neighbours, but having now, by ſome popular Acts, endear'd himſelf with the People, and ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt by the Birth and Promotion of his Son, he rais'd an Army the next Year, and recover'd *Melitena*, the Metropolis of the leſſer *Armenia*, and *Theodoſiopolis*, a City built by *Theodoſius* in *Armenia Major*; and obſerving that the Provinces which bord'er upon the *Bulgarians* were in no good Poſture of Defence, he rais'd ſeveral new Forts for their Security, at which the *Bulgarians* were ſo diſſatisfy'd, that they ſent their Ambaſſadors to complain of it to the Emperor, by whom they were ignominiouſly treated, and diſmiſs'd with a diſdainful Anſwer, which ſo incens'd that People, that they made a ſudden Irruption into the Provinces without any Declaration of War, and having waſted the Country for ſeveral Days together without any Reſiſtance, they return'd home with an incredible Booty. At this the Emperor was highly provok'd, but being not then in a Condition of reſenting it as he ought, he deferr'd his Revenge 'till ſome Years after, at which time being, as he thought, ſufficiently prepar'd to chaſtiſe them, he march'd with a good Body of Forces

ces againſt 'em, but was ſurpriz'd by the Enemy in a narrow Paſſage, defeated, and forc'd to return home with a great Loſs of Men, but a greater of Reputation, which however he recover'd in a War with them, which broke out not long after, as we may have occaſion to ſhew in its proper place.

Conſtantine *defeated by the* Bulgarians.

About this time there happen'd a Revolution in *France*, which, for that it had ſo great an Influence upon the Affairs of the Weſt, and ended in the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Empire there, it will not be thought Foreign to the Deſign of this preſent Hiſtory to give the Reader a brief, but clear Account of it.

We have had occaſion to obſerve before, how *Gaul*, in the Declenſion of the Empire, was in a great meaſure divided among the *Goths*, the *Franks*, and the *Burgundians*. The *Franks* are allow'd by all, but ſome *French* Writers themſelves, to have been originally a *German* People, at firſt divided into ſeveral Tribes, which were all diſtinguiſh'd by particular Names, 'till in the end they united themſelves in a common Confederacy, the better to oppoſe the prevailing Power of the *Romans*, in Defiance of whom they call'd themſelves *Franks*, or *A Free People*. Theſe *Franks* by degrees grew the moſt predominant of the three Nations formerly mention'd in *Gaul*, and in the Year 424 choſe *Pharamond* for their King, who, to the Reputation his Subjects had already acquir'd by their Arms, added the Strength and Beauty of wholeſome Laws and Conſtitutions. For ſome time *Pharamond*'s Succeſſors greatly enlarg'd their Power and Dominions, ſo that the *French* began to make a conſiderable Figure in the World, eſpecially under the Reigns of *Merovæus*, and *Clovis* the Firſt; the latter of which committed a fatal Overſight at his Death, in dividing his Territories among his four Sons, which, tho' united by *Clotaire* the Second,

Second, were once more divided by his Son *Dagobert*; and from this time forward the *French* Kings degenerated from the Worth of their Progenitors, reſigning themſelves up to a luxurious, unactive Life, committing the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs to the Majors of the Palace, who aſſum'd an unlimited Power, and govern'd in their Maſter's Name with an abſolute Authority. Among theſe *Pepin* was the moſt remarkable, who was advanc'd to the Adminiſtration towards the latter End of the ſeventh Century, in which, after he had govern'd twenty eight Years together, he was ſucceeded by his Son, *Charles Martel*, an active victorious Prince, who much augmented the Authority left him by his Father, and tranſmitted it down to his Sons, the youngeſt of which, call'd likewiſe *Pepin*, had from the beginning an Eye upon the Sovereignty, tho' at firſt he abſtain'd from declaring himſelf openly; till finding at length that the Execution of the Sovereign Power reſided ſolely in himſelf; that he was Maſter of the publick Treaſure, and of the Hearts of the People; that there was but one remaining of the *Merovignian* Race, *viz. Chilperick* the Third, a ſtupid and ſenſeleſs Prince; laſtly, that the Pope had upon ſeveral Occaſions been obliged by him, and would therefore, in all probability, approve of what he ſhould do; he reſolv'd to be that in Name, which he already was in Effect. To this purpoſe he ſummon'd an Aſſembly General of the Grandees of the Realm, in which ſome of his Creatures inveigh'd with much Art againſt the Sloth and Incapacity of *Chilperick*, inſiſting upon the great Diſproportion there was between the great Character he wore, and the Abilities he had to diſcharge the Duties belonging to it. They added that *Pepin* was in the Flower of his Age, that he was bleſs'd with an hopeful Iſſue, and was renown'd

nown'd for his Perſonal Valour and extraordinary Performances. Theſe Conſiderations, urg'd in an Aſſembly conſiſting chiefly of ſuch, who by reaſon of their Preferments, as well in Church as State, were engag'd to *Pepin*'s Family, had the Effect he and his Friends expected, ſo that he was univerſally deſir'd to take the Royalty upon him, which however he declin'd a while: For, to render the Matter more authentick and indiſputable, he perſuaded the Aſſembly to wait for the Advice and Conſent of *Zachary*, at that time Biſhop of *Rome*, who he knew was his intimate Friend, and whoſe Authority was but too great in the Church. Accordingly a Letter was ſent in the Name of the Aſſembly to the Pope, in which they deſir'd to know, *Whom he eſteem'd moſt worthy the Title and Dignity of a King? One, who living at his Eaſe and Pleaſure, contributed nothing to the Honour and Tranquillity of the Publick, or him who labour'd Night and Day for the Safety and Proſperity of the State?* The crafty Pope knew very well that *Pepin*'s Protection would be of great Uſe to him in the Deſigns the Kings of the *Lombards* and the Exarchs were continually forming againſt him, and that no Diſturbances could ariſe from his bribing him to it with the glorious Title of King, ſince he had already been deſired to accept of it by the Aſſembly of the States; but on the other hand would give him and his Succeſſors ſome Sort of Authority above that of Kings, to which he had a long time aſpir'd. Upon theſe Motives he readily declar'd for *Pepin*, and ſignify'd his Pleaſure accordingly to the States aſſembled at *Soiſſons*, who, having received his Letters, degraded *Chilperick*, and confin'd him to a Monaſtery; after which *Pepin* was crown'd with much Solemnity by the Hands of *Boniface* Biſhop of *Mentz*, aſſign'd by the Pope's expreſs Order to that Service.

Thus

A. D. 752. Pepin *Crown'd King of* France.

Thus was *Pepin* acknowledg'd and crown'd King of *France*, and in all Reſpects appear'd worthy that eminent Dignity; for he was Prudent, Valiant, Vigilant and Liberal, particularly to the Church, to which, upon all Occaſions, he expreſs'd a profound Reſpect. Theſe Qualifications made him highly eſteem'd by his Subjects, nor were they leſs belov'd by him, but received repeated Teſtimonies of his Paternal Care and Affection towards 'em.

Shortly after this Revolution in *France*, *Zachary*, who had ſo large a Hand in it, dy'd at *Rome*, after he had ſate in the Chair ten Years and three Months. He is remarkable for nothing more than his extravagant Deſire of aggrandizing the Papal Authority, and his great Ignorance; for this is he who condemn'd the learn'd *Virgilius* as an Heretick, for aſſerting the *Antipodes*.

In his time *Rachis* was King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, who at firſt confirm'd and prolong'd, for twenty Years, the Treaty of Peace concluded between him and his Predeceſſor *Luitprand*; but at length obſerving the Emperor had, in a great meaſure, remov'd his Care from *Italy*, which he conſider'd as a Country loſt irrecoverably, and that there was not much Friendſhip between *Zachary* and the Exarch, who he knew was ſo far from aſſiſting others, that he would find it a hard matter to defend himſelf, ſhould he be attack'd, he enter'd ſuddenly with an Army into *Pentapolis*, a Diſtrict in *Italy*, at that time comprehending *Rimini*, *Pezace*, *Ancona*, *Sinigallia*, and ſome other little Places of leſs Importance, ſeveral of which he ſurpriz'd; after which he invaded the Duchy of *Rome* it ſelf, ſeiz'd on part of thoſe Teritories to which the Pope pretended a Right, and laid Siege to *Peruſa*. The Pope, finding he had not Forces ſufficient to oppoſe the *Lombards*, went in Perſon to *Rachis*, as he lay before *Peruſa*, where he

he remonſtrated to him the Violence and Injuſtice he was doing, in ſo lively a manner, that he not only rais'd the Siege, and reſtor'd the Towns he had taken, but ſhortly after reſign'd his Crown, and turn'd Monk; tho' in the Year 757 he repented of his Reſignation, and would have re-aſſum'd it upon the Death of his Brother *Aiſtulphus*, but found, when it was too late, that it was much eaſier to quit a Crown than recover it.

Upon *Rachis* his Reſignation, *Aiſtulphus*, his Brother, was choſen King of *Lombardy* in his Room, and immediately upon his Eſtabliſhment, renew'd the Peace lately concluded between the Pope and his Predeceſſor, which he obſerved not long; for taking the Advantage of the Emperor's Wars with the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians* in the Eaſt, he rais'd a very potent Army, and ſate down before *Ravenna*, in which *Eutychius*, the Exarch, defended himſelf like a Man of Honour, and a valiant Soldier, for a long time, 'till deſpairing of any Succours from the Emperor, he quitted the Place, and retir'd to *Conſtantinople*, leaving *Aiſtulphus* Maſter of *Ravenna*, and the Territories belonging to it; by which means the Office of Exarch, which had continu'd in *Italy* for about one hundred and eighty two Years, was at length aboliſh'd by the *Lombards*, in the eleventh Year of *Conſtantine* the Emperor, the firſt of *Pepin* King of *France*, and the laſt of *Zachary* Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 752. With the Exarchate, the Emperor's Authority in a great meaſure expir'd in *Italy*; Divine Providence ſeeming, by the Conſequences that attended it, to prepare for the Reception of another Empire to be erected in the Weſt.

*The Expiration of the Exarchate.*

For *Aiſtulphus* having thus render'd himſelf Maſter of *Ravenna*, all the Towns of *Pentapolis* ſubmitted to him, upon which Succeſs, growing elate and arrogant, he aim'd at nothing leſs than the entire

tire Subjection of all *Italy*, and march'd accordingly with his Army towards *Rome*, the Inhabitants of which Place he demanded to acknowledge him for their Soveraign; alledging, in Juſtification of his Demands, that the Exarchate, which was his in Right of Conqueſt, gave him the ſame Power which the Emperor had 'till then in *Italy*, and conſequently that the Pope and Inhabitants of *Rome* were his Vaſſals. Notwithanding the Emperor, who from a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, condeſcended now to be a Mediator, interceeded by his Ambaſſadors in the Pope's behalf, yet *Aiſtulphus* purſu'd his Pretenſions with ſo much Reſolution, that the Pope found himſelf oblig'd to go in Perſon to *Pepin* to ſollicite his Aſſiſtance. *Pepin* receiv'd him with very extraordinary Honours, and at his Requeſt, and by the Advice of his Parliament, perſuaded *Aiſtulphus* to come to an Accommodation with the Pope. *Aiſtulphus* receiv'd the King's Ambaſſadors with a Reſpect due to their Character, and promis'd to quit, for the future, his Pretenſions to the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and the Territories belonging to it; which was all *Stephen* the Second, at that time Pope, deſir'd at firſt: But when he found himſelf ſupported by ſo puiſſant a Prince as *Pepin*, he made more important Demands, requiring the *Lombards* to reſign to him the Exarchate, and whatever elſe *Aiſtulphus* claim'd by Virtue of his late Conqueſts; all which he affirm'd belong'd in Right to him, *they being the Spoils of an Heretick Prince*, for ſuch he term'd the Emperor. The Reader will eaſily obſerve upon what pernicious a Maxim the Pope's Pretenſions were founded; for if the Dominions of Heretick Princes ought to devolve upon him, 'tis in his Power to condemn whom he thinks fit as ſuch, when he has a Deſire to ſeize upon his Territories; a thing which has been too often put in practice

A. D. 754.

*The Ambition of the Pope.*

practice by *Stephen*'s Succeſſors. In purſuance of his Pretenſions he dealt ſo effectually with *Pepin*, that he reſolv'd, in Favour of the Pope, to declare War againſt the *Lombards*, and the Year following A. D. march'd over the *Alps* with a powerful Army, not- 755. withſtanding the Care the *Lombards* had taken to ſecure the Paſſes. *Aiſtulphus*, being terrify'd at ſo unexpected an Invaſion, retir'd in great Precipitation, and ſecur'd himſelf in *Pavia*, which *Pepin* inveſted, and was upon the Point of taking it, when *Aiſtulphus*, juſtly ſenſible of the great Danger he was in, had Recourſe to *Stephen*, the grand Author of the War, to whom he promis'd in a moſt ſolemn manner to perform whatever he ſhould require of him, upon condition he prevail'd with *Pepin* to withdraw his Troops and return home. The Pope, who began at length to commiſerate the Condition of *Italy*, which had been grievouſly harraſs'd by the *French*; and fearing leſt *Pepin*, having taken *Pavia*, and ſecur'd *Aiſtulphus* who was in it, ſhould render himſelf abſolute in *Italy*, where he would ſuffer no one, if poſſible, to have a greater Authority than himſelf; perſuaded the King to liſten to Overtures of Peace, which was concluded between 'em, and *Aiſtulphus* obliged himſelf to ſurrender the Exarchate to the Pope, with whatever elſe he had belonging to it. But ſo ſoon as *Pepin* was return'd out of the Country, *Aiſtulphus*, finding he was freed from his Enemies, abſolv'd himſelf from the Obſervance of the Articles, and ſate down with the beſt of his Forces before *Rome*, having firſt ſpoil'd the Country about it.

*Pepin* thought this Breach of Faith in the King of the *Lombards* ſo nearly touch'd his Honour, that he return'd the Year following into *Italy*, where he forc'd the *Lombards* to riſe from before *Rome*, and once more block'd up *Aiſtulphus* in *Pavia*; where when he found himſelf reduc'd to the laſt Extremity,

Extremity, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Pepin*, imploring his Compaſſion, and deſiring him to be the Umpire of the Differences between him and *Stephen*. To this the King readily condeſcended, and Peace was concluded on all ſides, upon Condition *Aiſtulphus* punctually obſerv'd the former Treaty, and, over and above, ſurrender'd *Comachio* to the Pope, a Town of great Importance at that time in the *Ferrareze*.

This Agreement was concluded in the Preſence of the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, who came to demand in their Maſter's Name ſuch Territories belonging to the Exarchate, as *Aiſtulphus* and his Predeceſſors had from time to time torn from the Empire; but had the Mortification to obſerve no Reſpect given to their Remonſtrances, and ſee the Pope, the Emperor's avow'd Enemy, declar'd Temporal Lord of *Rome*, of the Exarchate, and all the Cities belonging to it, and, in a Word, of the beſt Part of what formerly belong'd to the Emperor in *Italy*. *Pepin* ſent the Abbot *Vollard*, his Chaplain, to receive from *Aiſtulphus*, in the Pope's Name, the Towns compris'd the Agreement, the Keys of which were brought to *Rome*, and, together with the Articles of Peace, depoſited upon the Altar of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, as an Inſtance that King *Pepin* made a Donation of 'em to thoſe two Apoſtles.

A. D. 758. *Conſtantine* was highly ſenſible of the Injuſtice done him, and the Diſhonour he had receiv'd by the late Treaty, but was in no Capacity of vindicating himſelf by Force of Arms; for about this time the *Sclavi* had thrown themſelves into *Macedonia*, where they waſted the Country, and deſtroy'd the Inhabitants in a moſt barbarous manner, before he could raiſe Forces ſufficient to remove 'em. The Imperial Authority was now contracted into very narrow Bounds, and grew every Day more unregarded. Tho' the *Saracens* for ſeveral

veral Years before were not at open Wars with the Empire, and ſo could not be look'd on as declar'd Enemies, yet they liv'd like very ill Neighbours, and were more untractable, and leſs to be truſted than thoſe whoſe Dominions they uſurp'd, and who, tho' they were not ſubject to the Empire, liv'd in Friendſhip with it, and upon all Occaſions were ready to aſſiſt it. The Diſtractions in Religion weaken'd the State, and there were more Bigots in the Church than Soldiers in the Army: And the Accounts of the Wars which happen'd in thoſe Times, whatever they were, are tranſmitted down to us with the ſame Negligence with which we may conclude they were manag'd; and Fortune was preparing to remove the Scene of Action into the Weſt, forſaking the Majeſty of the *Byzantine* Empire, which now grew languid and defenceleſs.

Deſpairing therefore of recovering that by Force which had been forcibly taken from him, unleſs *Pepin* would engage not to aſſiſt the Pope againſt him, he ſent his Ambaſſadors with very rich Preſents upon that Errand, but found *Pepin* deaf to any Propoſals of that nature, and reſolv'd to preſerve the Pope in the Poſſeſſion of what he had conferr'd upon him; in which he was encourag'd by the Pope's Legates ſent to him upon that Occaſion, and who by their Behaviour in their Negotiations afforded *Conſtantine* new grounds for his Diſpleaſure; whereupon he exacted with more Rigour than ever, a ſtrict Obſervance of his Edicts concerning the Worſhip of Images, in which he was oppos'd by none ſo much as the Monks, who ſo far provok'd the Emperor by their Oppoſition, that he publiſh'd a Law, forbidding any Perſon whatever to turn Monk, and was proceeding with much Severity againſt 'em, when he was diverted for the preſent from his intended Purpoſe by the *Bulgarian* War, the Occaſion and Circumſtances of which

are differently related by different Authors; the moſt probable is, That the Emperor was offended at the *Bulgarians*, for that in a Sedition they had put all the Princes of the Blood Royal among 'em to Death, and advanc'd *Teleſis*, a Man meanly deſcended, to the Throne. To revenge which Treaſon, he rigg'd out a ſtrong Fleet, and rais'd a good Army, which had Orders to march through *Thrace*, and meet the Fleet at *Anchialus*, a Town ſtanding upon the Sea in *Cilicia*, where both Parties engag'd, and continu'd fighting for eight Hours together, 'till in the end the Imperialiſts got the Victory, and the *Bulgarians* put their King to Death, either for that they miſtruſted he entertain'd a private Correſpondence with the Emperor, or becauſe he did not behave himſelf worthy of the Dignity to which they had advanc'd him. *Conſtantine*, after this Victory, return'd with his Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, where he made a magnificent and triumphant Entry.

A. D. 763.

Conſtantine *overthrows the* Bulgarians.

The ſame Year the *Turks* deſcended in prodigious Multitudes thro' the *Caſpian* Gates out of the *Aſiatick Scythia*, in which cold, but populous Country, they were inform'd of the great Wealth of *Aſia*, which their own Poverty made them eager to enjoy. They firſt fell into *Armenia*, from thence into *Perſia* and *Aſia minor*, all which Countries they rifled, and return'd home with incredible Booty.

*Strange Caſualties about this time.*

About the ſame time there happen'd ſo violent a Froſt, which moſt Authors who have written of that Age have thought fit to mention, for the extraordinary Severity of it: It began on the firſt of *October*, or according to ſome, about the Beginning of *November*, and continu'd to the End of *February* following. All the *Euxine* Sea was frozen over, and the Ice was cover'd with Snow fifty Foot deep, which render'd it paſſable for Men and all ſorts of Cattle. When the Thaw came, the Ice

and

and Snow were diſſolv'd together into ſeveral Heaps, ſufficient to hold and ſupport above fifty Perſons each; theſe moving Mountains being driven by the Winds, crouded through the Straits, and did great Miſchief at *Conſtantionple*, ſeveral of them being ſo high, that they appear'd above the Walls, which, together with the Caſtle, were very much ſhaken by them. The Month following, the ſame Year, ſeveral Prodigies appear'd in the Air; for the Stars ſeem'd to fall from Heaven, and terrify'd the World with the Apprehenſions of Dooms-day, which was thought in that general Amazement to be at hand; this was attended with a wonderful Drought, during which divers Fountains were dry'd up, and many Rivers fail'd.

Notwithſtanding theſe amazing Prodigies, *Conſtantine* renew'd his Severity againſt thoſe who appear'd the moſt forward and zealous for the Worſhip of Images, in which no Perſons had a larger Share than the Monks, who very induſtriouſly oppos'd him, and thereby provok'd him ſo far, that he had a Deſign of driving them out of his Dominions, and accordingly ſold all their Monaſteries at *Epheſus*, beſtowing the Money rais'd by 'em upon his Soldiers. In many other Places, particularly at *Conſtantinopel*, he conſtrain'd 'em to marry, and forc'd 'em to lead their Brides publickly thro' the Streets; condemning, at the ſame time, by his publick Edicts, the Interceſſion of the Saints and the Virgin *Mary*; and proceeded ſo far as to baniſh *Conſtantine*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who with much Heat defended the Worſhip of Images; for which Reaſon he was recall'd a Year or two afterwards, and publickly Beheaded.

Whilſt the Emperor was proceeding with ſo much Rigour againſt the Clergy in the Eaſt, *Rome* was ſhaken with a violent Sedition, which happen'd upon the Death of *Paul* the Firſt, who ſucceeded *Stephen* *A Sedition at* Rome.

in the Popedom, and the Election of *Conſtantine*, who was advanc'd to the Papacy by the Power and Artifices of his Brother *Toton*, Duke of *Nepi*. For *Toton* underſtanding the Condition in which *Paul* lay, and how impoſſible it was for him to recover, gathered all the Forces he was able to raiſe, to which he join'd thoſe of his Friends, and entring *Rome* by Force, ſeiz'd on the City, where he preſented his Brother to ſucceed *Paul*, who was by that time in the laſt Extremity; but foraſmuch as *Conſtantine* was qualify'd with no Eccleſiaſtical Orders, he was firſt made a Clerk, the Day following he was ordain'd Sub-Deacon, and on the third, Deacon: After which he was conducted by main Force to the *Lateran*, where three Biſhops conſecrated him Pope of *Rome*, to the great Scandal and Indignation of the People and the Clergy, who were farther provok'd by the Inſolence with which he behav'd himſelf; whereupon, in a private Aſſembly, ſummon'd for that purpoſe, conſiſtng of the principal Citizens and moſt eminent of the Clergy, it was reſolv'd to expel *Conſtantine*, and advance a Prieſt call'd *Philippus*, whom they conducted in great Pomp to the ſame Church, and ſolemnly declar'd him Pope, rendring him ſuch Acknowledgements as are uſual upon the like Occaſions. In the mean time, *Chriſtopher*, who, after the Præfect, was a Man of the greateſt Authority in the City, and his Son *Sergius*, the next in Dignity to him, preſented themſelves to *Conſtantine*, who was not as yet deprived; and, the better to conceal their villainous Deſigns againſt him, deſir'd Leave, in a ſubmiſſive manner, to be diſmiſs'd out of the City, with an Intent, as they pretended, to become Monks; but as ſoon as they were got out of the Gates, they fled to *Deſiderius*, King of the *Lombards*, deſiring him to aſſiſt 'em in their Deſign, which was to depoſe both *Conſtantine* and *Philip*, and advance a Creature of their own to the Papacy. *Deſiderius* gave 'em a Body

A. D. 768.

dy of *Lombards* to aſſiſt 'em, with whom entring ſecretly into the City, they rais'd a terrible Sedition, in which *Toton*, his Brother *Paſſinus*, and a great number of their Party were murder'd; and then commanding *Philip* to return to the Monaſtery from whence they had taken him, in an Aſſembly of the Chief Officers of the Militia, and Principal of the Citizens and Clergy, they made choice of *Stephen*, Prieſt of St. *Cæcilia*, and conſecrated him Pope, with the publick Acclamations of the People, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*. After which they exercis'd all manner of Cruelties upon *Conſtantine*'s Officers and Domeſticks; for they pluck'd out the Eyes and the Tongue of *Theodore*, a Biſhop, who was Maſter of his Houſhold, and proceeded with equal Barbarity againſt the reſt. *Conſtantine* was ſhut up in a Monaſtery, where he was laden with Irons, 'till they could form his Proceſs, and bring him to his Trial, which was done the Year following, and he had a formal Sentence pronounc'd upon him; in Execution of which he was degraded from Sacred Orders, thrown out of the Church, had his Eyes pluck'd out, and ſome add, that he was burnt alive, after he had been moſt cruelly buffetted. By theſe inhuman Means *Stephen* the Third obtain'd and confirm'd himſelf in the Popedom, which his Friends would perſuade the World he was no Actor in himſelf, nor that he ſought the Dignity, but receiv'd it as a voluntary Offer from the Hands of thoſe bloody Reformers. Yet if he was not himſelf the Author of the Cruelties, he at leaſt favour'd thoſe that were; for he employ' *Sergius*, the Son of *Chriſtopher*, in an Embaſſie into *France*, ſhortly after his Promotion, and advanc'd others of mean Degree, who had been *Chriſtopher*'s chief Inſtruments, to the higheſt Dignities both of Church and State; but more eſpecially his Proceedings againſt *Conſtantine*, ſufficiently declare how well he approv'd of what had been done.

Marianus Hiſ. Sæcl. undec.

*Pepin dies.*

The ſame Year that *Stephen* the Third was advanc'd to the Papacy in *Italy*, *Pepin* dy'd at *St. Dennis* in *France*, after he had liv'd about fifty four Years, and reign'd ſixteen and an half. His Wife's Name was *Bertha*, Daughter of *Charibert*, Earl of *Leon*, by whom he had four Sons, *Charles*, *Carloman*, *Pepin* and *Giles*, of which *Pepin* dy'd very young, and *Giles* was ſent in his Youth into a Monaſtery upon Mount *Soracte* in *Italy*, ſo that *Charles* and *Carloman* were left Joint-Heirs of their Father's Dominions; in the Partition of which they at firſt differ'd with much Contention, 'till in the end it was agreed between 'em, that *Charles* ſhould have *Neuſtria* for his Share, comprehending the Southern and Weſtern Parts of *France*, and ſhould quit *Auſtraſia*, or the Oriental Part, to *Carloman*. Accordingly *Charles* was crown'd at *Noyan*, in the thirtieth Year of his Age, and *Carloman* at *Soiſſons*, when he was about two and twenty. Beſides theſe Sons, *Pepin* left a Daughter, call'd *Giſella*, behind him, whom *Conſtantine* the Emperor demanded of her Brothers in Marriage, at which *Stephen* the Third was ſo alarm'd, that he made uſe of all his Artifices to prevent the Match; for he dreaded an Alliance between thoſe two Princes, which, conſidering the Emperor's Inclinations for him, could not but prove very prejudicial to his Affairs. For this Reaſon he endeavour'd to perſwade *Charles* and *Carloman*, that it was not permitted to the Princes of *France* to contract Marriage with Strangers, without the Conſent and Approbation of the Pope; and made uſe of the ſame Arguments the next Year, when a Match was propos'd between *Charles* and *Theodora*, the King of the *Lombards* Daughter; for he imagin'd upon good Grounds, that if thoſe two Kings, by vertue of ſo ſtrict an Alliance, ſhould come to have a good Underſtanding with each other,

ther, they would in time demand a Reſtitution from him of what he and his Predeceſſors had unjuſtly uſurp'd in *Italy*; and therefore, in a long Letter which he writ to *Charles* and his Brother upon that Subject, he call'd the propos'd Match a *Deviliſh Suggeſtion*, adding, That *it appear'd in the Holy Scriptures, that many Princes were led aſide from the Worſhip of the true God, by the Artifices of ſtrange Women whom they had marry'd*; by which it is evident he did not know, or rather would not underſtand, what the Scripture meant by *Strange Women*, who were not eſteem'd ſuch upon the Account of their Birth, but their Religion, which was Idolatry. Now he and all the World knew that the Kings of *Lombardy* held the ſame Faith with thoſe of *France*, and *Charles* afterwards Marry'd *Hildegard*, a Daughter of *Childebrand*, King of the *Suevi*, who was in every reſpect as much a Stranger as the Daughter of *Lombardy*; but it was the Pope's Intereſt to oppoſe the latter, and to abuſe and pervert the Senſe of the Holy Scriptures themſelves, the better to accompliſh his Deſigns. However, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the Pope could make, *Charles* was in concluſion marry'd to *Theodora*, tho' he divorc'd her two Years after, either to pleaſe the angry Pope, or for ſome particular Diſlike to her Perſon, ſhe being an infirm ſickly Princeſs.

*Deſiderius*, King of the *Lombards*, was highly incens'd againſt the Pope, for his endeavouring to obſtruct the Match; however he conceal'd his Reſentments for the preſent, and, under the Pretence of Devotion, made a Progreſs to *Rome*, where he renew'd his Promiſes of obſerving the *Peace* concluded between the Pope and his Predeceſſors, and of ſuffering him to enjoy, without any Moleſtation, whatever was granted to him by the late Treaty, and behav'd himſelf ſo cunningly in every Reſpect, that he left the Pope no room to entertain Suſpicions of the A. D. 770.

ill Designs he had contriv'd against him; but, during his Residence at *Rome*, he grew acquained with *Affiarta*, the Governor of the City, and by his many Presents and powerful Persuasions, made him undertake to form a Process against *Christopher* and his Son, for the late Tumults, and the Promotion of *Stephen* to the Papacy, and that he would Banish or Imprison the chiefest of the Citizens, who approv'd not of his Designs; all which *Affiarta* perform'd with too much Rigour, tho' it turn'd not to the Advantage *Desiderius* had propos'd, but rather prov'd the Occasion of his Ruin. He had Marry'd both his Daughters into *France*, one to *Charles*, and the other to *Carloman*, who dying about the latter end of this Year, left a Widow and two Sons behind him, who fled to *Tabillon*, Duke of *Bavaria*, upon an Apprehension that *Charles* intended to seize and confine 'em, and from thence fled to their Grand-father in *Italy*, who was vehemently incens'd against *Charles* for Divorcing his other Daughter, as we observ'd before. So that now he had a Quarrel to the Pope and *Charles*, and resolv'd, if possible, to be reveng'd upon 'em both.

A. D. 772. In the mean time *Stephen* dy'd, and was succeeded by *Adrian*, a *Roman* Citizen, who immediately upon his Promotion, releas'd and recall'd from Exile all those who had been Imprison'd or Banish'd by *Affiarta*, and prepar'd to oppose himself with all his Power against the King of the *Lombards*. Notwithstanding which, *Desiderius* conceal'd his Resentments for the present, and sent an Embassy to *Rome*, to congratulate him upon his Election, and renew the former Treaty concluded with *Stephen*. His Ambassadors were instructed to inform the Pope, that their Master intended to send his Grandsons by *Carloman* to *Rome*, where he desir'd the Pope to Crown 'em, that they might be duly qualify'd to enjoy the Inheritance left 'em by their Father. He knew,

if

if the Pope conſented to his Demands, he would thereby make *Charles* his Enemy, and raiſe ſome Commotions in *France*, which would give him an Opportunity of revenging himſelf upon the Pope, and conquering *Rome* and all *Italy*; but if he refus'd, he thought he might then reaſonably endeavour to obtain that by Force, which he could not procure by a Treaty. *Adrian* would willingly have condeſcended to his Demands, and therein have given an Inſtance of the Authority he arrogated to himſelf over Kings; but being of a piercing Judgment, he quickly found that *Deſiderius* his ſole Ambition was to ſet him at Variance with the King of *France*. For this reaſon he return'd the Ambaſſadors a Civil but Ambiguous Anſwer, with which *Deſiderius* being in no meaſure ſatisfy'd, he enter'd with a ſtrong Army into the Exarchate, where he ſurpriz'd *Ferrara* and ſome other Places, and prepar'd to Beſiege *Ravenna* it ſelf. The Pope, highly incens'd at this Rupture, ſent to demand Aſſiſtance from *Charles*, who very readily promis'd him his Protection; and having by two repeated Embaſſies, requir'd *Deſiderius* to evacuate thoſe Towns belonging to the Pope, which, in Breach of the Treaty, he had already ſeiz'd; and finding the King, notwithſtanding his fair Promiſes, reſolv'd to retain 'em, he made ſuch Preparations for the War, as appear'd de-deſign'd not only to aſſiſt the Pope, but to make an entire Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Lombardy*.

A. D. 773.

His whole Army met at the general Rendezvous near *Geneva*, where he divided it into two Bodies, one of which he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle *Bernard*, and the other he led himſelf another way. *Deſiderius*, having certain Intelligence of his Motions, ſent ſome Troops to make good the *Straits*, and then rais'd all the Forces of his whole Kingdom; which, having form'd into a mighty Army, prepar'd to give *Charles* Battel,

Charles, *King of* France, *prepares to conquer* Italy.

tel, in caſe he forc'd the *Straits*, and deſcended from the Mountains. Some ſay, that both Armies came to an Engagementt, in which, after an obſtinate Diſpute, *Deſiderius* was Defeated; others, leſs affected to the *Lombards*, ſay, they fled in great Conſternation, without daring to look in the Face of their Enemies. However it were, the *French* ſurmounted all the Difficulties they met with in their March, and enter'd in an orderly manner into *Italy*; at which *Deſiderius* was ſo terrify'd, that he retir'd and ſhut himſelf up in *Pavia*, where, expecting to be Beſieg'd, he made all neceſſary Proviſions for a Defence. At the ſame time he ſent his Son *Adalgiſe*, with his Daughter, the Widow of *Carloman*, and her two Children to *Verona*, the ſtrongeſt and moſt commodious Town in his Dominions next to *Pavia*.

In the mean time the Inhabitants of *Spoleto*, and the *Reatines*, obſerving that *Deſiderius* was unable to keep the Field, and that he was ſecuring himſelf and his Family in his fortify'd Towns, revolted from him, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Pope, who took 'em into his Protection, and in a moſt ſolemn manner receiv'd the Oath of Allegiance from 'em. This Example was follow'd by the Marche of *Ancona*, and ſeveral other Places. During which Solemnity *Pavia* was very cloſely Beſieg'd by *Charles*, who ſate down before it with one Part of his Army, and ſent the other to inveſt *Verona*; and that the Beſieged might know how little he was diſpos'd to diſlodge 'till thoſe two Towns were in his Power, he ſent for his Wife into the Camp, where he continu'd and celebrated the Feſtival of *Chriſtmas*; after which, leaving the Siege of *Pavia* to his Uncle's Conduct, he went to puſh on that of *Verona* more vigorouſly. *Adalgiſe* defended the Town with much Bravery for ſome time, but finding *Charles* was reſolv'd to take

take it, he fled to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Emperor; and the Inhabitants, deſpairing to make good the Place after his Departure, ſurrender'd it to *Charles*, who found *Carloman*'s Widow and Children in it, whom he ſent into *France*, where they were very honourably Treated, tho' we have no Account from Hiſtory, what became of 'em afterwards.

Verona *ſurrender'd to* Charles.

*Pavia* held out hitherto with great Conſtancy; whereupon *Charles* reſolv'd to go and keep his *Eaſter* at *Rome*, where *Adrian* the Pope, gave him a moſt magnificent Reception, and all the People follow'd him with Acclamations, frequently repeating that Saying in the Goſpel, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* In the midſt of theſe Triumphant Shows, *Charles* arriv'd at the Church of the *Vatican*, where he devoutly kiſs'd every Step as he mounted, and where the Pope, ſeated on high, waited to receive him; and where, when they met, they embrac'd each other with many Tokens of a mutual Friendſhip.

*Charles*, having ſpent a Week at *Rome*, return'd to his Army lying before *Pavia*, which began now to ſuffer as much from the Famine and Peſtilence that rag'd within, as from the Enemy without; ſo that after a Siege of ten Months, it was conſtrain'd to ſurrender. The People before this, had been ſo tir'd with this War, that they Maſſacred the Duke of *Aquitain*, becauſe they imagin'd he had fomented, and did ſtill prolong it. *Deſiderius* apprehending the like Danger from the Popular Fury, deliver'd himſelf up with his Wife and Children to *Charles*, who ſent him into *France*, where he was Shav'd and made a Monk, dying not long after at *Liege*. With him ended the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, in the two hundred and ſixth Year after its Eſtabliſhment, during which they made a conſiderable Figure in the World; and tho' their Diſſolution is deſcrib'd with

A. D. 774. *And* Pavia.

*The End of the* Lombardian *Kingdom in* Italy.

Pens

Pens, partial in Behalf of *Charles* and the Pope, yet we muſt allow 'em to have been a People warlike and conſiderable. Their Government at firſt was ſevere and cruel, but when they had embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion, it grew gentle and equitable, as appears by the many good Laws made for the Peace and Security of their Subjects; their magnificent Churches, ſtately Monaſteries, and other Publick Buildings. The Church is indebted to 'em for many renown'd Confeſſors, and the See of *Rome* owes 'em no leſs for ſeveral of her moſt liberal Benefactors; ſo that it would be hard to conceive why the *Pope* ſo induſtriouſly procur'd to ruin them, if we did not remember that his Ambition out-weigh'd all other Conſiderations whatever. After he had driven the Emperor, in a manner, out of all *Italy*, and ſeiz'd on what of Right belong'd to him, he could not ſuffer a neighbouring Prince ſhould preſume to controul or contend with him, and therefore was never eaſie 'till he had remov'd him out of the way, that he might ſafely Enjoy what he had moſt ſhamefully Uſurp'd, and add to his former Extortions, ſuch parts of *Lombardy* as lay moſt convenient for him.

Paulus Diaconus.

*Paul*, the Deacon and Hiſtorian, was carry'd Priſoner with *Deſiderius* into *France*, where he was accus'd of ſome indirect Practices in Favour of his Prince, whom he attempted to releaſe; whereupon *Charles* order'd his Hand to be cut off, but recalling his Sentence before it could be executed, he only confin'd him to *Capraria*, an Iſland in the *Tuſcan* Seas, from whence he retir'd to the Abby of Mount *Caſſin*, where he became a Monk. He left ſeveral Writings behind him, the chief of which is his Hiſtory of the *Lombards*, compriz'd in ſix Books, wherein he appears very much addicted to the Superſtitions of that Age, and zealous for the Honour of his Prince and Nation.

*Charles*

*Charles*, having ſettled his Authority in *Pavia*, return'd to *Rome*, where the Pope receiv'd him at the Head of fifty Biſhops, and conferr'd upon him the Dignity of a Patrician, which was the firſt Degree in Honour after that of Emperor, to whom of Right it belong'd to confer it; but his Authority being now extinct in *Italy*, the Pope arrogated it to himſelf, as he did by degrees all the Imperial Honours and Ornaments.

Before *Charles* departed for *France* he was Crowned King of *Lombardy*, by *Thomas*, Arch-Biſhop of *Milan*, at *Monza*, a little Town near that City, and then took care to ſettle the Affairs of thoſe Parts, in order to his return into *France*. He reſign'd to the Pope the Dutchies of *Rome* and *Petouſe*, with ſome other Towns and Territories, retaining however to himſelf and his Succeſſors the Right of Sovereignty, and an Acknowledgment by way of Homage. The Dutchies of *Beneventum*, *Spoleto* and *Friuli*, he gave to ſome of the Chief among the *Lombards*, who had not been buſie againſt him in the late War, retaining to himſelf *Liguria*, *Tuſcany* and *Emilia*, which comprehended the Dutchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*, *Bologna*, *Venetia*, *Trent*, *Mantua*, and the *Cottian Alps*; and from this Time forward theſe Territories were call'd the Kingdom of *Italy*, which extended to the River of *Ofanto*; but *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily* continu'd ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of the Emperor. Theſe remarkable Tranſactions happen'd in *Italy* in the thirty fifth Year of *Conſtantine*, the ſixth of *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, the third of Pope *Adrian* the Firſt, *Ann. Dom.* 774.

All this while *Conſtantine* was employ'd in proſecuting the Image Worſhippers in the Eaſt, or in his Wars with the *Bulgarians*, which were intermitted by frequent Treaties, and renew'd with various

various Succeſs. Some time before this, a Peace was concluded between 'em, the Articles of which were ſo diſlik'd by the *Bulgarians*, that they intended to obſerve it no longer than 'till they could find a convenient time to break it. For which Reaſon twelve thouſand of their Men fell this Year into the Territories of the Empire, but met with a Succeſs their Perfidy deſerv'd, for *Conſtantine* fell upon them and cut 'em all in Pieces; after which great Victory, he return'd in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*. This he afterwards call'd his *Noble War*, becauſe there was not one Chriſtian loſt in it; tho' it ſeems the Victory was obtain'd by Treachery, he being ſecretly inform'd by ſome *Bulgarians* of the Deſigns of their Countrymen againſt him. *Elerich*, Prince of the Country, knew he had been betray'd, and made uſe of a Device to diſcover the Traitors. He wrote to *Conſtantine*, and told him he was willing to quit his Dignity, and lead a private Life in *Conſtantinople*; for which purpoſe he deſir'd his Letters of ſafe Conduct, and to know what Friends he had amongſt the *Bulgarians*, that he might commit his Perſon to their Truſt, and repair with them to his Preſence. *Conſtantine*, who thought *Elrich* ſincere in his Pretenſions, ſent him the Names of thoſe who held Intelligence with him, who were all put to Death by the crafty Prince, to the great Shame and Indignation of the Emperor, who in the Extravagance of his Paſſion, pluck'd his Beard up by the Roots, and prepar'd to be ſufficiently reveng'd upon *Elrich* the Spring following; but in his March againſt him, he was ſeiz'd with a contagious Feaver, of which he dy'd the fourteenth of *September*, after he had reign'd thirty four Years and three Months.

Conſtantine *deluded by the King of the* Bulgarians.

A. D. 775. Conſtantine *dies.*

He left the State almoſt in the ſame Condition in which he found it; tho' it's very probable, if he had liv'd at a time when the Vigour of the Empire

*His Character.*

pire had not been quite decay'd, he had rul'd with more Honour, and dy'd in greater Reputation; for he was naturally Sober, Chaſte, and Valiant, and at leaſt reſtrain'd the growing Diſtempers of the Body Politick, which it was not in his Power to remove: And this may be ſaid of him, That he knew very well how to manage an ill Hand. He defended the aged Body of the Empire againſt the frequent Attempts of the *Saracens*, *Bulgarians*, and other inſulting Neighbours, and in that reſpect deferred the Calamities he was not able to avert. He was cordially affected to the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion, and maintain'd the Catholick Faith againſt all thoſe Hereticks who had been condemned by the ſeveral Oecumenical Councils. He was a great Enemy to Images, and to all thoſe who labour'd to eſtabliſh the Worſhip of 'em in the Church; by which he contracted the ill Will of thoſe who were zealous for it, and who for that Reaſon omitted no Opportunity of wounding his Reputation. This afforded the Biſhop of *Rome* an Opportunity of withdrawing himſelf from his Subjection to the Empire, and erecting his own Authority in *Italy*; which, being founded upon the Principles of Idolatry and Rebellion, gave a Beginning to the Kingdom of Antichriſt.

VI. *Conſtantine* was ſucceeded in the Empire by his Son *Leo*, who had been Proclaim'd *Auguſtus* in the tenth Year of his Father's Reign, as was obſerv'd before; and in the Year 770 marry'd *Irene*, Daughter to the King of *Bulgaria*, by whom he had another *Conſtantine*, whom, ſhortly after his Coronation, he Aſſociated with him in the Empire. At firſt he appear'd moderate in his Temper, and remitted the Rigour his Father had expreſs'd towards the Worſhip of Images; but it appear'd by his Proceedings afterwards, that he only temporis'd

LEO III.

'till he had ſettled himſelf in the Government, and ſecur'd it to his Son *Conſtantine*; in the Deſcription of whoſe Coronation *Theophanes* is very particular.

A. D. 776. He tells us, *Leo*, by his Moderation, had ſo univerſally oblig'd the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, that they came with a general Petition to him to make his Son *Conſtantine* Emperor, to prevent, in caſe of his Death, a Civil War, which would of neceſſity ariſe between his Brothers, in Contention for the Succeſſion. *Leo*, who well knew the Game he had to manage, reply'd, That *he was ready to comply with their Requeſt, but was willing firſt by a ſolemn Oath to oblige 'em to adhere to his Son, at that time an Infant, after his Deceaſe, and defend him againſt all Competitors whatever.* This they readily conſented to, and for a Week together the *Hippodrome* was crouded with ſuch as with great Earneſtneſs deſir'd his Son's Promotion, concluding all with an Oath of Allegiance to him, and obliging themſelves by a Paper, ſubſcrib'd by the Army, the Senate, and all ſorts of People, never to admit of any but *Leo*, or *Conſtantine*, or their Iſſue, to reign over them. The next Day, being *Eaſter*-Eve, the Emperor aſcended a Throne rais'd to an extraordinary Eminence for that purpoſe, where he conferr'd the Title of *Nobiliſſimo* on his Brothers *Anthimius* and *Eudoxius*, and from thence carry'd young *Conſtantine* in a ſolemn Proceſſion to the Church, where changing his Habit, as his Predeceſſors us'd to do, he, with his Son and the Patriarch, mounted the Place proper to ſuch Solemnities, whilſt the People laid their ſubſcrib'd Papers upon the Holy Altar. When this was done, the Emperor addreſs'd himſelf in this manner to the Aſſembly: *Behold, my Brethren, how ready I have been to grant your Petition; receive, according to your own Demands, my Son for your Emperor; take him in the Preſence of the Almighty, from the Hands of his only begotton Son Jeſus Chriſt.* To which the

the People with loud Acclamations reply'd, *Be thou our Surety, thou Eternal Son of God; from thy Hand we receive our Lord* Conſtantine *for Emperor, and ſtand engag'd to defend him with our Lives and Fortunes.* The Day following, being *Eaſter*-Day, the Patriarch Crown'd young *Conſtantine* in the Preſence of all the People in the *Hippodrome*; after which he return'd in great Pomp to the Palace.

The Pomp of this Solemnity ſeem'd to raiſe an Appetite in *Nicephorus*, *Leo*'s Brother, to the Sovereignty, who therefore form'd a Conſpiracy againſt his Brother; but being diſcover'd and convicted, he was baniſh'd, together with his Accomplices, into the *Cherſoneſe*. Shortly after which, *Elerich*, King of the *Bulgarians*, who had ſo often contended in the preceding Wars with *Conſtantine*, the late Emperor, being in ſome popular Tumult driven out of his Country, made a right uſe of his Misfortunes, and retir'd for Safety to *Conſtantinople*; where *Leo* receiv'd him with much Honour, and, according to his own Requeſt, order'd him to be inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, which he embrac'd, created him a Patrician, and marry'd him to a Relation of the Empreſs *Irene*. A. D. 778.

Theſe Popular Acts in the Beginning of his Reign, render'd *Leo* very gracious to the People, by whoſe Encouragement he prepar'd an Army to be ſent againſt the *Saracens*, who had lately been very troubleſome upon the Borders. This Expedition prov'd very fortunate to the Empire, for both Armies engag'd in the Month of *February* in *Syria*, where the *Saracens* were defeated, and loſt eleven thouſand of their Men upon the Place. To repair which Loſs, *Mahdy*, or *Mahady*, rais'd a very powerful Army, with which he pierc'd into the Territories of the Empire. *Leo*, perceiving he had A. D. 779.

had not Troops ſufficient to oppoſe him in the open Field, took care to have the Towns and fortify'd Places well provided, and deſtroy'd all the Forage that was in the open Country; and this Deſign ſucceeded ſo well, that the Caliph, finding no manner of Subſiſtence for his Army, was forc'd to retire without doing any thing conſiderable againſt the Emperor: But he was ſo much concern'd at this unfortunate Expedition, that he puniſh'd all the Chriſtians in his Dominions for it. He publiſh'd an Edict, which ſubjected all thoſe who had forſaken Mahometiſm and embrac'd Chriſtianity, to the fevereſt Puniſhments, and order'd all the Churches of the Chriſtians to be deſtroy'd, which was executed with much Rigour at *Emeſſa*, and in other Parts of *Syria*.

Leo *an Enemy to Images.*

This Perſecution rais'd againſt Chriſtianity abroad, made *Leo* more zealous for the Purity of it at home; for now he appear'd an open Enemy to Images, and, following the Steps of his Father, very ſeverely puniſh'd thoſe who aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of the Worſhip that was paid to 'em. Nor would he in this reſpect decline reprehending the Empreſs *Irene* his Wife, whom, in Defiance to the ſolemn Oaths ſhe had made his Father to the contrary, he accus'd of favouring thoſe who adher'd to it. She made ſuch an Apology in her own behalf, as appear'd afterwards to be no more than a mere Excuſe, when ſhe authoriz'd and eſtabliſh'd the Veneration paid to 'em. This Excuſe did not appear ſo plauſible to the Emperor, but he thought he had juſt Grounds to miſtruſt too intimate a Familiarity between her and ſome of his Domeſticks, who therefore were put to Death, and *Irene* was forbidden his Bed for ſome time after. Theſe are the moſt remarkable Tranſactions during this Emperor's Reign, which exceeded five Years no more than ten Days. *Theophanes*, and ſome others, who were

were zealous in the behalf of Images, have given us a very odd Account of his Death. They ſay that *Leo*, being a great Admirer of Precious Stones, would needs wear the Crown of *Heraclius*, which being embelliſh'd with ineſtimable Jewels, was depoſited in the Great Church, from whence it was never taken but upon a Coronation; this Crown *Leo* preſum'd to wear whenever he appear'd in Publick; but as one Day he had it on, a Carbuncle aroſe in his Head, and he was ſeiz'd with a violent Fever, of which he dy'd on the ſixteenth of *September*, *An. Dom.* 780, after he had reign'd five Years and ten Days, leaving the World little of moment to diſcourſe of him after his Death, except his Averſion to Images, which rais'd him Enemies enow among thoſe who were addicted to the See of *Rome*.

CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENETUS.

*Leo*, in the twenty ninth Year of his Father's Reign, had been eſpous'd to *Irene*, Daughter to the King of *Bulgaria*, by whom he had a Son call'd *Conſtantine*, and ſurnam'd *Porphyrogenetus*, becauſe born at a time when his Father and Grandfather were both Emperors. *Conſtantine*, at his Father's Death, was no more than nine or ten Years of Age, for which Reaſon his Mother *Irene* procur'd her ſelf to be declar'd Regent during her Son's Minority. She, being a cunning ambitious Princeſs, and a Woman that would ſtick at no Villany which could promote her Deſigns, made ſeveral think that ſhe haſten'd her Husband's Death, that ſhe might have the ſole Adminiſtration of Affairs in her own Hands during her Son's Nonage: And this Conjecture is made more than probable, by the ill Underſtanding there was between her and *Leo* ſometime before his Death. Before ſhe had been eſtabliſh'd in the Management forty Days, ſeveral of the Senators and principal Citizens, grown weary of her Government, met together, and con-

A. D. 780.

ſulted how they might advance *Nicephorus*, *Conſtantine*'s Uncle, to the Imperial Dignity; this rais'd a great Sedition in the City, inſomuch that *Irene* was forc'd to preſent her ſelf to the Multitude, whom ſhe reminded of the ſolemn Oath given to *Leo*, never to acknowledge any other for Emperor but his Son *Conſtantine*; and this ſhe apply'd to 'em in ſuch ſeaſonable Terms, that the Tumult was inſtantly appeas'd: After which ſhe arreſted and impriſon'd all thoſe who had been the moſt forward in the Sedition, moſt of whom ſhe ſhav'd, and then baniſh'd into ſeveral little uninhabited Iſlands, where they all periſh'd for want of Suſtenance; *Nicephorus*, and *Chriſtopher*, another of *Conſtantine*'s Uncles, were thruſt into Holy Orders, and ſome others ſecur'd, in whoſe Power it was to raiſe any Diviſions in the State. This Danger being over, ſhe endeavour'd to ingratiate her ſelf with the People, and procure the Favour of the Pope, by reſtoring Images, to whom ſhe commanded a Religious Worſhip to be render'd in all the Churches of her Dominions.

A. D. 782. Having by theſe Means, as ſhe thought, ſecur'd her ſelf in the Government at home, ſhe ſent an Army againſt *Helpidius*, Governour of *Sicily*, who ſhe was inform'd privately favour'd *Nicephorus*, and incited the *Saracens* to Invade the Territories of the Empire. *Helpidius* defended himſelf for ſome time with good Succeſs, but was at length forc'd to fly into *Africk*, whither he carry'd all his Treaſure with him, and liv'd in great Security in *Egypt*; where the *Saracens*, in Oppoſition to *Conſtantine*, declar'd and own'd him Emperor. Taking the Advantage of this Opportunity, they fell with great Fury upon the Eaſtern Provinces, which *Aaron*, the Son of *Mahadi* the Caliph, waſted in a terrible manner, and oblig'd *Irene*, for the Preſervation of the Empire, to make it tributary to the Infidels,

*The Emperor made tributary to the Saracens.*

Infidels, whom ſhe appeas'd with an Annual Penſion. So ſoon as ſhe had put an end to this War, ſhe ſent *Stauracius*, a Patrician, againſt the *Sclavi*, who entring *Greece* and the *Peloponneſus*, had ravag'd all the Country. *Stauracius* engag'd them at ſeveral Times, in all which he had the Advantage, and reduc'd them to Obedience; after which, and when he had impos'd a Tribute upon them, to which they were forc'd to ſubmit, he return'd in great Triumph to *Conſtantinople*.

During theſe Wars on each ſide, a Negotiation was ſet on foot between *Irene* and *Charles*, of whom ſhe demanded his Daughter in Marriage for her Son *Conſtantine*, being then about twelve Years of Age. This ſhe propos'd, that ſhe might be the better able to ſupport her ſelf againſt her Enemies by the Power of *France*; and the Propoſal was ſo well approv'd of, that Ambaſſadors were ſent into *France* to conclude the Treaty, and *Eliſæus*, an Eunuch, left behind, to inſtruct the young Princeſs in the Language and Cuſtoms of the *Roman* Empire. Tho' both Parties ſeem'd fond of the Match, the Accompliſhment of it was deferr'd at preſent, becauſe the young Princes were under Age, and was at laſt totally laid aſide by the Artifices of *Irene*, who being unwilling to reſign the Government to her Son, when he began to be qualify'd in Years for it, was afraid ſo powerful an Alliance and the Friendſhip of *Charles* would make him too conſiderable for her Management; upon which account ſhe highly offended *Charles*, and diſoblig'd her Son, who had entertain'd an Inclination for the Lady, and was never after truly reconcil'd to his Mother, who aggravated all by forcing him to marry a Virgin of obſcure Parentage, and one whoſe Perſon and Education made her in every reſpect unfit for the Imperial Dignity.

This gave a beginning to the many Troubles that enſu'd afterwards.

In the mean time *Irene* perſiſted in her Zeal for the Worſhip of Images, which ſhe was deſirous to eſtabliſh by the Authority of a Council; to which purpoſe having made *Theraſius*, contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, Patriarch of *Conſtatninople*, and being aſſur'd of the Pope's Aſſiſtance, who ſhe knew as earneſtly deſir'd the ſame thing, ſhe ſummon'd a Council to be celebrated at *Conſtantinople* on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, *An. Dom.* 786. But as they were all ready to form the Aſſembly, a great Number of the Inhabitants, and the Soldiers garriſon'd in that City, knowing what the Buſineſs of the Council was to be, roſe in a tumultuous manner, and oblig'd all the Deputies that were arriv'd to retire, to the great Indignation of *Irene*, who for that Reaſon remov'd the Council the Year following to *Nice*, where every thing was done according to the Purpoſes for which it was ſummon'd. And tho' by the *Romans* it is eſteem'd a General Council, it was not acknowledg'd as ſuch by the ſeveral National Synods held after it in the Eaſt and the Weſt.

*The Second Council of Nice ſummon'd in the Behalf of Images.*

A. D 789. Hitherto *Irene* had govern'd in the Empire with an unlimited Authority, tho' her Son was now twenty Years of Age; whereupon ſeveral Courtiers, who were grown weary of his Mother's impeous Adminiſtration, encourag'd him to take the Government into his own Hands; to which he was eaſily perſuaded, eſpecially when he obſerv'd that her great Favourite, *Stauracius*, who govern'd all under *Irene* at his Pleaſure, was more follow'd and reſpected than the Emperor himſelf, ſo that he prepar'd, by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his intimate Friends, to throw off the Bonds of Pupillage, and ſeize on that Inheritance by Force, which he thought would not voluntarily be reſign'd to him

him. Of this *Stauracius* was inform'd before their Deſign was ripe for Execution, and by *Irene*'s Order, arreſted the Conſpirators, who were firſt whipp'd and ſhav'd, and then ſent into Exile. Her Son ſhe chaſtis'd in an outrageous manner with her own Hands, and confin'd him to his Apartment for a conſiderable time after. *Stauracius*, being an experienc'd ſucceſsful General, had a great Intereſt in the Army, the principal Officers of which were at his Devotion, and therefore at his Inſtigation took an Oath of Fidelity to *Irene*, excluſive of her Son, who, by vertue of that Oath, was not permitted to reign ſo long as ſhe liv'd. The ſame Oath was impos'd upon the Senate, and the Forces quarter'd in the Provinces, who all took it except ſome Legions in *Armenia*, who declar'd reſolutely for *Conſtantine*, whom their Duty and Allegiance obliged them to obey.

This Reſolution of the Army in *Armenia* being known to the reſt of the Forces quarter'd upon the Borders, had ſuch an Effect upon them, notwithſtanding the Oath they had lately taken, that they follow'd their Example, and requir'd unanimouſly to have the Government veſted in *Conſtantine*. *Irene*, who had juſt Reaſon to fear the Violence of the incens'd Multitude, releas'd her Son from his honourable Reſtraint, who, being receiv'd by the repeated Acclamations of the Citizens and Soldiers, took the Reins of the Empire into his own Hands. Thoſe who had been baniſh'd upon his Account he recall'd, and advanc'd them to Employments of Honour and Profit. *Stauracius*, and ſuch others as had been his Mother's Favourites, he baniſh'd, but ſuffer'd *Irene* to live at a Palace of her own, which ſhe had built in *Elutherium*, and where ſhe had laid up an immenſe Treaſure. Whilſt the State was thus ſhaken with theſe Commotions, *Conſtantinople* was thrown into A. D. 790.

ſo violent a Convulſion by a furious Earthquake, that the Inhabitants were forc'd to quit their Dwellings, and retire into the Fields, 'till the Fury was abated.

The Emperor being thus reſtor'd to his Liberty, and the free Exerciſe of his Imperial Authority, rais'd an Army againſt the *Bulgarians*, whom he fought, but with what Succeſs is uncertain; for ſome ſay he had the Victory, others that it was a drawn Batte, and the reſt affirm he had the worſt in the Engagement, wherein he loſt the Flower of his Army. His Succeſs againſt the *Saracens* is as variouſly reported; ſo dark are the Accounts left us of that Age, as if the State of the Empire was ſo low, as not to deſerve to be remember'd in an ingenious diſintereſted Hiſtory.

But whilſt he was buſily employ'd in theſe Wars abroad, *Irene* and her Party were as buſie at home. They were ſenſible how dangerous it was to attempt her Reſtoration by Force, and therefore they labour'd to effect it by ſubmiſſive Entreaties and plauſible Remonſtrances; they endeavour'd to perſuade him by Arguments drawn from filial Duty and Obedience, and to terrifie him by ſuggeſting to him the Dangers to which he was expos'd from the Deſigns of his Enemies. Theſe Conſiderations made him recall his Mother, with whom he was contented to act in Conjunction. Having, as he thought, ſtrengthen'd his Authority, which he was perſuaded in this manner to divide, he once more fell upon the *Bulgarians*, encourag'd to it by ſome Mathematicians, who made him ſo confident of the Victory, that he omitted the proper Means to obtain it; ſo that the Enemy, taking the Advantage of his ill-grounded Security, gave him a very remarkable Defeat, in which, beſides great Numbers of common Soldiers, he loſt the beſt Officers of the Army, and the moſt

A. D. 792.

*The Emperor overthrown by the* Bulgarians.

moſt conſiderable Men in the Empire, together with *Pancratius*, the Aſtronomer, who, upon the Preſumption of his Knowledge, had given him all the Aſſurances of a glorious Succeſs, but now experienc'd in Death the Vanity of his treacherous Art. The *Bulgarians* having thus gain'd the Battel, forc'd the Camp, ſeiz'd on all the Emperor's Baggage, and ſent the diſhonourable Prince naked home to *Conſtantinople*.

Theſe Misfortunes open'd his Adverſaries Mouths againſt him, whilſt he, being conſcious to himſelf of his own Unworthineſs, grew jealous and diſtruſtful, which ſome, who were near his Perſon, endeavour'd to improve, by inſinuating to him that the Soldiers then quarter'd in *Conſtantinople*, grown weary of his Government, had a Deſign to promote *Nicephorus*; at which he was ſo enrag'd, that he commanded his Uncle's Eyes to be pluck'd out, and proceeded with the ſame Severity againſt *Alexius*, a Man in great Credit with the Army in *Armenia*, and againſt his other Uncles, and moſt of his near Relations, tho' it did not appear they were any ways concern'd in the Conſpiracy. Theſe Barbarities are ſaid to be acted at the Inſtigation of *Irene*, who five Years after, upon the ſame Month, and the ſame Day of the Month, did as much by her Son *Conſtantine*, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow hereafter.

For tho' that Princeſs ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with the Title of Empreſs without the Power, yet in ſecret ſhe was continually contriving how to make her ſelf Miſtreſs of both. Her greateſt Adverſaries were the *Armenian* Legions, whom the Emperor's Cruelty to *Alexius* had driven into a Mutiny, in which they had ſeiz'd on *Conſtantianus*, and ſome others, who were ſent into their Province at the Head of a ſtrong Party, to reduce them; whereupon *Conſtantine* march'd againſt them himſelf,

ſelf, and gain'd an entire Victory over 'em, killing great Numbers of them in the Field, and taking the reſt Priſoners, who were diſpers'd into *Sicily* and other Iſlands. Tho' they had juſtly drawn the Emperor's Indignation upon them for their Diſobedience, yet in deſtroying them, he provok'd his own Deſtruction; for he had now loſt thoſe who had heen always ready to aſſiſt him againſt the ambitious Deſigns of his Mother, who rejoic'd ſecretly at all his Misfortunes, and was pleas'd to ſee him expoſe himſelf to the Reſentments of the People. She privately encourag'd him in all Attempts tending to his Diſhonour, and knowing he had no great Affection for the Empreſs *Mary*, whom ſhe had forc'd him to marry contrary to his Inclination, ſhe perſuaded him to divorce her, and marry *Theodecta*, one of the Maids of her Chamber, who was Crown'd Empreſs with much Solemnity at *Conſtantinople*, where the Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with publick Feſtivals for four Days together.

A. D. 795.

This unequal Match contributed to *Irene*'s Deſigns, for it created great Conteſts among the Clergy concerning the Lawfulneſs of it, in all which ſhe countenanc'd thoſe who were againſt her Son, and privately careſs'd ſuch as ſhe knew would upon occaſion be ready to oppoſe him. The Solemnity of the Nuptials were hardly over, before *Conſtantine* was call'd from the Arms of his new Bride to oppoſe the *Saracens*, who, by way of Revenge for ſome Advantages he had lately gain'd over them, made an Irruption into *Cilicia*, which they waſted with Fire and Sword, and upon the Emperor's Approach return'd home with great Booty. After this he turn'd his Arms againſt the *Bulgarians*, whoſe King *Cardanes* ſent to demand a Tribute from him, and threaten'd to come as far as the *Golden Gate* of *Conſtantinople* to force

force it, if it was refus'd him. *Conſtantine* reply'd, *That ſince he was an old Man, he would not give him the Trouble of ſo long a Journey, but come with it in Perſon, and wait upon him.* Accordingly he march'd againſt him with a conſiderable Army, upon ſight of which the Barbarians fled away in great Conſternation, and *Conſtantine* return'd to *Conſtantinople*, where the Diſputes among the Eccleſiaſticks relating to his late Marriage were grown ſo high, that the Abbot *Plato* had Excommunicated *Tharaſius*, the Patriarch, for having confin'd *Mary*, the Emperor's Divorc'd Wife, to a Monaſtery, and conſented to his eſpouſing another. Whereupon *Conſtantine* threw *Plato* into Priſon, and baniſh'd all his Monks, which encreas'd the Diſpleaſure the generality of the People had conceiv'd againſt him, and encourag'd his unnatural Mother to haſten the Execution of her Deſigns. In the Month of *October* he waited on her to the Baths of *Pruſa*, where he had not been long before an Expreſs from *Conſtantinople* inform'd him that his Empreſs was deliver'd of a Son; at which he was ſo overjoy'd, that he return'd in great haſte to the Imperial City, and his Impatience was ſuch, that it would not ſuffer him to ſtay and take a decent leave of his Mother, who interpreted it as an Indignity offer'd to her Perſon; and taking the Advantage of his Abſence, ſo diſpos'd the chief Officers of the Army to her Service, that they promis'd to Depoſe her Son with the firſt Opportunity, and confirm her ſolely in the Government. A. D. 796. Irene's Deſigns againſt her Son.

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation the Emperor undertook another Expedition againſt the *Saracens*, in which he was attended by *Stauracius*, and other of his Mother's Creatures, who, at her Requeſt, had lately been recall'd home. *Stauracius*, obſerving the Emperor, and the greateſt part of

of the Army were grown confident of Succeſs, dreaded the Conſequences of a Victory, which might render him too great for all their Deſigns; he therefore hir'd the Scouts to report to the Emperor, that the *Saracens* having waſted the Country, were return'd home, and left no Employment for his Arms in thoſe Parts. Whereupon being diſappointed, as he thought, of a glorious Victory, he return'd to *Conſtantinople* in much Diſ-
A. D. 797. content, which was aggravated by the Loſs of his young Son, who dy'd on the firſt of *May*. The Conſpirators, being quicken'd by repeated Letters from his Mother, were now prepar'd for Execution; and as he was returning one Day from the *Circus*, he was privately inform'd, that ſome People were hir'd by his Mother to ſeize on him, and carry him bound to her. Thinking to be ſecure in *Armenia*, he committed himſelf to the Care of ſome, who he thought had great Reaſon to be faithful to him, but on the contrary, they carry'd him, by *Irene*'s Order, to the Palace, and there in the Chamber wherein his Eyes firſt ſaw the Light, he loſt it by the Hands of Inhuman Traitors, who moſt barbarouſly digg'd his Eyes out of his Head, with the inſupportable Pain of which he dy'd ſhortly after. The Heavens, ſaith the Hiſtorian, beheld with ſo much Horror the exceſſive Cruelty of this unnatural Mother, that for ſeventeen Days together the Sun withdrew his Beams, inſomuch that ſeveral Ships at Sea loſt their Courſe for want of Light, and fell foul on each other. Tho' the Reader may obſerve, in the Death of this Prince, the viſible Footſteps of Divine Juſtice, and the Puniſhment he deſerv'd for the innocent Blood he had ſpilt during his Reign, particularly that of his Uncles, who loſt their Eyes by his Order five Years before, upon the ſame Day of the ſame Month, and in the ſame Chamber; yet

Conſtantine *murder'd.*

doth

doth it by no means excuſe the Inhuman Treaſon of his inexorable Mother, who ſacrific'd her only Son to her Ambition and Revenge. So ſoon as ſhe ſaw her ſelf confirm'd without a Rival in the Imperial Authority, ſhe ſent *Nicephorus* and *Chriſtopher*, her late Husband's Brothers, to *Athens*, where they were murder'd by her Order ſhortly after; ſo that now the whole Race of *Leo Iſauricus* was totally extinct, and no one left to diſpute the Title with her. Wherefore ſhe order'd her ſelf to be drawn into the City by four Horſes in a gilt Chariot, attended by ſome of the Patricians, who waited as her Slaves on either ſide, whilſt ſhe diſtributed Money amongſt the People, as it was uſual at the Solemnity of a Coronation; which was hardly finiſh'd before the *Saracens* waſted the Eaſtern Provinces of the Empire, and having defeated the Forces *Irene* ſent out againſt 'em, and deſtroy'd all the Cavalry ſhe had quarter'd in *Thrace*, pillag'd the whole Country, and made their Excurſions almoſt as far as the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, after which they return'd with a very rich Booty home.

A. D. 798. *The* Saracens *inſult the Empire.*

Being deliver'd from theſe Foreign Dangers, ſhe fell into greater at home; for *Stauracius*, who had hitherto behav'd himſelf like the Slave of her Ambition, began now to envy her the Crown which his Villanies had help'd to put upon her Head, and therefore conſulted with his moſt intimate Friends, the means to deprive her of it. His Deſigns were prevented by a ſeaſonable Diſcovery to *Irene*, who, in Conſideration of his former Services, puniſh'd him no otherwiſe than by forbidding all Men to keep him Company; which moderate Carriage towards him, made him ſo aſham'd of his Offence, that he dy'd for Grief ſhortly after.

From this time forward, like other Tyrants and Uſurpers, ſhe enjoy'd that in continual Fears and Jealouſies which ſhe had obtain'd by Treaſon and Par-

Parricide, and was in the end dethron'd by her Subjects, after she had endeavour'd by several Acts of Grace and popular Condescensions to purchase their Favour; and had the Mortification to see an Emperor created in the West, in Defiance, as it were, of her Dignity, and that by the Pope of *Rome*, whom, during her Authority, she had so so many ways study'd to oblige.

For about this time *Charles* the King of *France*, who had deservedly acquir'd the Surname of Great, was call'd into *Italy*, to remove some Disorders that had prevail'd there during his Wars with the *Saxons*, (whom he finally conquer'd, and converted to the Christian Faith) and vindicate *Leo* the Third, at that time Pope of *Rome*, who came to sollicite his Assistance against some *Roman* Citizens who had most grievously insulted him. For by this time the *Romans* had forgot the Fear and Awe in which the *Lombards* had kept 'em, and, grown wanton in Idleness and Luxury, began to dislike their Subjection to the Pope, and were ambitious of recovering their ancient Liberty. This (encourag'd the
A. D. 799. Governor of the City, and some principal Officers related to the late Pope *Adrian*, to accuse *Leo* of several enormous Crimes, and raise a seditious Party against him. As he was assisting in a Procession upon a solemn Festival, they fell upon him, beat him, and endeavour'd to pull out his Eyes and his Tongue, after which they threw him, when he was half dead, into a Dungeon; from whence however *Albinus*, his Chamberlain, found an Opportunity of delivering him, and committed him to the Protection of *Winigise*, Duke of *Spoleto*, at that time in *Rome*, by whose Assistance he was convey'd to *Charles*, who was then at *Paderbonne* in *Saxony*, to whom he complain'd of the Injuries had been done him. *Charles* receiv'd him with much Honour, and gave a favourable Ear to his Complaints, and

and after he had entertain'd him for ſome time with much Magnificence, he ſent him back under a ſtrong Guard, and promis'd to come in Perſon to *Rome* ſo ſoon as his Affairs would give him leave, there to do him Juſtice; in the mean time he ſent his Commiſſioners with him, to try the Merits of his Cauſe before his Arrival. Theſe Commiſſioners having heard what the Conſpirators could urge againſt *Leo*, or offer in their own Behalf, found all they ſaid ſo trivial, that they were ſent in Chains into *France*.

Charles *the Great goes into* Italy.

Shortly after, *Charles* having prepar'd all things requiſite for his Expedition, ſet out for *Italy*, giving his Orders, and reforming ſuch things as were done amiſs in all Places as he paſs'd. At *Rome* he was receiv'd with all the Magnificence the Pope could expreſs to a Sovereign Prince, who was his great Patron and Protector. After he had been there ſome Days, he acquainted the People with the Cauſe of his coming, and appointed a Day to hear their Biſhop's Cauſe. When the Accuſers had deliver'd in their Charge, and *Leo* was preparing to make his Defence, the Biſhops, as well *French* as *Italian*, who ſate upon the Bench, would not ſuffer him to anſwer formally, as other Criminals were us'd to do; ſo that he was acquitted by his Judges, when he had declar'd ſolemnly upon Oath, that he was innocent of the Crimes they had objected againſt him.

*Charles* having done this piece of Service for *Leo*, there remain'd ſomething for him to do by way of Acknowledgment; which ſome imagine to have been the principal Motive to this Expedition. *Charles* his large Territories and mighty Dominions made him deſerve the Title of Emperor, and *Leo* knew his Predeceſſor had been notoriouſly perſecuted by the Heretical Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who was of late grown no leſs unable than unwilling to protect

tect him, and that it was the general Opinion, some other Prince ought to take the Defence of the Church upon him, and to that purpose, be dignify'd with the Imperial Title, which he knew no one deserv'd so well as *Charles*.

A. D. 800. Accordingly on *Christmas*-Day, *Charles* went early in the Morning to the Church of the *Vatican*, where the Pope, after he had finish'd his Devotions, vested him with an Imperial Robe, and set a Crown of Gold upon his Head, the People in the mean time with reiterated Shouts acclaiming, *To* Charles Augustus, *Crown'd of God, the most Mighty and most Pious Emperor of the* Romans, *Long Life, and Perpetual Victory*. After which he anointed him with the Sacred Oil, and *Charles* undertook the Defence of the *Roman* Church. When this was done, the Pope fell down upon his Knees before the Emperor, acknowledging him for his Sovereign, whilst his Images were expos'd in publick, as it had been customary with the Emperors of *Rome*, to the Intent all the People might render him Subjection and Obedience. *Eginhard*, who was Secretary to *Charles* the Great, and therefore might reasonably be thought to know more of the Matter than some later Writers, saith his Master was not ambitious of the Title, nor would have accepted of it, if he had not been surpris'd into it by the Pope; and 'tis very likely he thought nothing of it when he first set out upon this Expedition, for in effect he gain'd nothing by it; and, if he had thought it convenient, he might have assum'd it without the Intervention of the Pope.

*And is made Emperor.*

*His Character.* However it were, his exalted Virtues and heroick Actions made him truly deserving of the Dignity and Title of Emperor, being undoubtedly one of the most excellent Princes that ever was in the World; for besides those other Accomplishments, as well Civil as Military, which rais'd him above

all

all his Contemporaries, he ſurpaſs'd all the Men of that Age in the Knowledge of the Tongues and Sciences, and was equal'd by none in Eloquence: He had a fervent Zeal for the Propagation of the Chriſtian Religion, and for the Support of the Honour and Diſcipline of the Church: If he was guilty of ſome Superſtitions, which can't be deny'd, it is to be imputed to the Corruptions of the Times in which he liv'd, and the Ignorance of the Clergy. His greateſt Faults were, his being too much addicted to the Love of Women, and his profuſe Favours to the See of *Rome*.

This new Empire comprehended all *Italy* as far as the Rivers *Oſanto* and *Volturno*, with *Bavaria*, *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Auſtria*, *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Germany*, *Gaul*, and a conſiderable Part of *Spain*; whilſt the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* retain'd no more in the Weſt than the Reſidue of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and ſuch Countries of *Europe* as border upon the Eaſt, with the Lands beyond the *Boſphorus*.

Thus have we endeavour'd to continue this Hiſtory down to a new Period, which neither puts an End to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, nor in reality introduces a Diviſion of it; but rather the Erection of a new one, that bears no Relation to the former, unleſs in this Reſpect, that it ow'd its Beginning to the Power of the Sword, and a juſt Regard to Military Diſcipline: Tho' if the Strength of both had been united together, it would have fallen as far ſhort of the Ancient *Roman* Majeſty, as does the imperfect Reſemblances of a Perſon taken after his Deceaſe, fall ſhort of his living Lineaments. The mighty Body of the Empire had, like a prodigious Mountain Oak, been long ſince hewn down by the Sword of the Barbarians; and if the Root was left ſtill remaining, it brought forth nothing but a tender Scion, which was too weak to contend with the

Storms that continually aſſaulted it, or over-top the Weeds and Brambles with which it was encumber'd. The *Romans*, contrary to an old Maxim, had in Proceſs of Time, by their perpetual Wars, taught their Enemies not only their Manner of Fighting, but their Ambition of Glory and Thirſt of Empire; and thereby contracted a Debt larger than their Poſterity was able to pay. The Reaſons of the Riſe, Progreſs and Diſſolution of this State, which have been occaſionally hinted at in theſe Volumes, are ſo well known, and have been ſumm'd up by ſo many abler Hands, that a Repetition of 'em here would be ſuperfluous. We ſhall only add this uſeful Obſervation, That it is with States as with particular Perſons, none are ſo Strong, ſo Powerful and Mighty, but ſooner or later they come to a Period: From their Birth they creep gradually up to their utmoſt Strength and Vigour, and then firſt deſcend to a Decay, and after that drop into nothing; nor ought we to wonder at it, ſince the World it ſelf muſt expect a Diſſolution.

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